The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

The Pace of Our Witness
By George F. MacLeod

Ahead of the National Council
An Editorial

The McCarthy Falange
By Alson J. Smith

Retrospect
An Editorial

DECEMBER 29, 1954

In This Issue

GEORGE F. MACLEOD

gave the address which is published in this issue at the recent General Assembly of the National Council of Churches in Boston. Dr. MacLeod is the founder and leader of the famous Iona community, located on the island of the Scottish Hebrides where St. Columba founded his mission in the sixth century. In 1938 he resigned his pastorate in the well known Govan Old Parish Church, Glasgow, to make the Christian gospel of the Incarnation vital in every part of Scottish life. At Iona he has gathered about himself a group which follows a rigorous spiritual discipline. Dr. MacLeod is a graduate of Oxford and Edinburgh universities and was once a postgraduate fellow at Union Theological Seminary, New York, where he is a special lecturer this year.

ALSON J. SMITH

is a minister who once edited the *Social Questions Bulletin* for the Methodist Federation for Social Service. He has written for *Harper's* and other magazines, including The Christian Century. Dr. Smith's latest book, *Immortality, The Scientific Evidence,* was published by Prentice-Hall this year. He has written six other books, among them *Brother Van,* which was sold to the movies, and *Faith to Live By,* a Family Reading Club selection. He is a member of the Methodist Church's New York East conference.

EVERETT C. PARKER

succeeds the late J. Henry Carpenter as New York city correspondent for The Christian Century. He is director of the office of communication of the Congregational Christian Churches, 287 Fourth Ave., New York. A Congregational Christian minister, he directed the notable communications research project sponsored jointly by the National Council of Churches and Yale Divinity School and was formerly associated with the National Broadcasting Co.

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Coming Events

Dec. 27-Feb. 20. General Theological Seminary Exhibition: "The Printed Bible Through Five Centuries," New York city.
Dec. 29-30. Evangelical Theological Society 6th Annual Meeting, Shelton College, Ringwood, N. J.
Dec. 30-Jan. 2. Interdenominational Christian Retreat (Greater Chicago Churchmen, Austin Ministerial Association, Camps Farthest Out, sponsors), Austin Baptist Church, Chicago.
Jan. 2. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Herbert Gezork, speaker.
Jan. 2-7. Religious Radio-TV Workshop (National Council of Churches Broadcasting and Film Commission), St. Louis.
Jan. 2-9. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24. Women's Committee of Union Theological Seminary Monday Morning Lectures (admission by tickets available from seminary), New York city; Henry P. Van Dusen, George F. MacLeod, Wilhelm Pauck, George W. Webber, speakers.
Jan. 4. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York city; themes: "Crises and Inquiries," "Contemporary Patterns of Faith," "Literary Presentations of Great Moral Issues"; Cyril C. Richardson, John Herman Randall, Jr., Edward Davison, speakers.
Jan. 4-5. N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission Annual Meeting, New York city.
Jan. 8-10. Association of Methodist Theological Schools Meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Jan. 9. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Louis H. Evans, speaker.
Jan. 9-14. Religious Radio-TV Workshop (N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission), Denver.
Jan. 10-11. National Association of Methodist Schools and Colleges Meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Jan. 10-15. American Baptist Convention General Council, Green Lake, Wis.
Jan. 11. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; Scott Buchanan, Abraham J. Heschel, John E. Smith, speakers.
Jan. 12-15. A.M.E. Zion Church Bishops' Meeting.
Jan. 16-22. Church and Economic Life Week.
Jan. 17-18. American Baptist Convention Woman's Home Mission Society Meeting, New York city.
Jan. 17-21. Emory University Ministers' Week, Emory University, Ga.; Oscar Cullmann, G. Bromley Oxnam, speakers.
Jan. 18. American Baptist Convention Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board Meeting, New York city.
Jan. 18-19. Disciples Orientation Conference for Ministers and Their Wives, Indianapolis, Ind.
Jan. 18-21. Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.
Jan. 19-20. 7th National Conference on Church and State (Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State), Washington, D.C.; Harold J. Ockenga, speaker at Mass Meeting in Constitution Hall.
Jan. 19-28. Stewardship Institutes (N.C.C. Joint Department of Stewardship and Benevolence), Michigan.
Jan. 23-27. University Christian Mission, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Jan. 24-27. 56th Annual Ohio Pastors' Convention.
Jan. 31-Feb. 2. Bangor Theological Seminary Convocation Week (150th Anniversary Program), Bangor, Me.; James W. Fifield, Jr., George Shepard lecturer on preaching; Robert J. McCracken, Beach Quiet Hour lecturer; G. Bromley Oxnam, Enoch Pond lecturer on applied theology; D. Elton Trueblood, Samuel Harris lecturer on literature and life.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXXI CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29, 1954 NUMBER 52

EDITORIAL

Reece Report Attacks Tax-Free Foundations

AN APPARENT MAJORITY of the House of Representatives committee investigating large tax-free foundations celebrated Christmas by releasing a voluminous report which charged these foundations with having "directly supported subversion in the true meaning of that term, namely, the process of undermining some of our vitally protective concepts and principles." The majority is apparent or tentative because Representative A. L. Goodwin of Massachusetts agreed to the issuance of the report desired by B. Carroll Reece, the chairman, and Jesse P. Wolcott, but said he disagrees with it and will issue a separate report later. If he agrees with the apparent minority, making their report the majority report, he will save the Republican party a considerable headache. The identification of that party with the anti-intellectual know-nothing attitude of Reece and those who agree with him would do the party no good and would do a serious disservice to the country. Should the foundations follow the course these men would chart for them, they would make no grants that could possibly result in a new idea or a fresh examination of an old idea. Indeed, they would go out of business and turn over their functions to Congress, which would appropriate their capital and income on the principle, advocated by the putative majority, that "foundation funds are public funds." This concept appears again and again, and helps to explain the conclusions the majority reached. These men evidently believe Congress should have jurisdiction over all "public" funds. This is a grave error. The great majority of foundations exist to serve humanity, but their basic idea is that free associations of citizens are more objective and more capable of determining what this service requires, in respect to the administration of such trusts, than a politically elected body can possibly be. After the Reece report, the point would appear proved beyond possible dispute.

Jailed for Selling 'Catholic Worker' Without License

IT IS ALWAYS informative to note what constitutes the sort of civil liberties case about which public excitement is stirred up, especially when freedom of the press is involved. Last month Ammon Hennacy, one of the editors of the *Catholic Worker,* was arrested in New York for selling copies of that paper on the city's streets without a license. (It costs one cent a copy.) He was convicted in a magistrate's court, fined $10, and when he refused to pay the fine sent to jail for five days. The New York branch of the American Civil Liberties Union is now appealing the arrest and conviction to higher courts. One would think that every newspaper in the nation would be interested in a case which involves restriction of press freedom by the ancient device of licensing. So far, however, neither the press nor Mr. Hennacy's fellow churchmen have shown any concern. Why? Could it be because the *Catholic Worker,* whose chief editor is the saintly Dorothy Day, follows a radical line on economic and labor questions and a pacifist line on international issues? And also, perhaps, because Ammon Hennacy is the sort of dedicated crusader who never hesitates to challenge authority in the name of conscience? It certainly could be. But a press which allows the rights of freedom to publish and distribute to be denied without protest in the case of a radical publication like the *Catholic Worker* is preparing the ground for its own later throttling. If the American press—especially the New York press—is awake to its own interests, it will dig into this Hennacy conviction and get behind the A.C.L.U. to secure a reversal.

Italian Liberals Form Religious Freedom Association

LED BY A MAN with the international stature of Gaetano Salvemini, who taught at Harvard during the years Mussolini kept him out of Italy, a distinguished group of liberals has formed an "Association for Religious Freedom in Italy." Among Professor Salvemini's associates are Prof. Aldo Capitani, of the Movement for Religious Reform; Prof. Raffaele Pettazzoni, lecturer on church history at the University of Rome; Judge Piero Calamandrei; and a number of members of parliament. The association will attempt to see that police observe the ruling handed down by Italy's supreme court a year ago that Mussolini's decrees restricting freedom of worship had been "automatically abrogated" when the present constitution was adopted, and that they do not continue to flout the guarantees of religious liberty in articles VIII, XIX and XX of the constitution. We wish Professor Salvemini and his friends more luck than Italian Protestants have had in gaining observance of their supposed constitutional rights. One difficulty they are up against is the apparent ignorance or disregard of court rulings by the police. That cropped out again in Rome this month when the police removed a sign identifying the Church of Christ (*Chiesa di Cristo*) on the Via Achille Papa. The police removed a similar sign last February, but the Church of Christ missionaries, who come from Texas and are not easily discouraged, got a magis-

trate's order holding the action of the police to be "illegitimate." However, when the sign was put up again and the police arrived, they refused to recognize the magistrate's authority, claiming this was only judicial, while they were acting under higher executive orders. In a run-around of this kind, the Protestants may have a perfectly sound legal case, but what good does it do them?

Swedish King Rejects Appeal for Bishop

WITH THE REJECTION by the Swedish king of petitions for clemency, the case of Bishop Dick Helander of the Church of Sweden seems to have reached its official end. Some action may still be taken to provide an income for the deposed bishop and his family. But the last appeal against the verdict of deposition has been denied. An administrative court in Stockholm, which passes on cases involving disciplinary action against state employees, has ruled that Dr. Helander can retain his title as bishop, as well as the right to ordain and to officiate at baptisms, weddings and burials. Once a bishop, always a bishop. However, the other bishops of the state church, in a resolution asking the king to relieve the Helander family of its "dire economic distress," stated that "it is not considered officially desirable for him to hold another ecclesiastical post." Bishop Helander, our readers will recall, was convicted of slander by the Uppsala magistrates' court a year ago. The slander consisted of accusations against the character of candidates who opposed him in the election of a bishop for the Strangnas diocese. These were contained in anonymous letters mailed to all the clergy who were to vote in the election. In the eyes of the Swedish public, however, the bishop's wrongdoing in spreading slander was less reprehensible than his denials of the secret purchase of the typewriter on which the letters were written and of mailing the letters—facts proved by evidence which the courts found incontrovertible. Archbishop Brilioth, in commenting on the case, said that he did not care to discuss the relationship of the Swedish state and church "at this time." He agreed that "the court was right in this instance," but held it "desirable that the church show more independence."

The Mind of the New N.C.C. President

WHAT SORT of man is the new president of the National Council of Churches, Eugene Carson Blake? Presbyterians will not ask that question, for they know him well as the courageous stated clerk of their church. And he has made a deep impression on other denominational leaders in the brief period since, in 1951, he left his California pulpit for his post in Philadelphia. But there are many in the churches forming the National Council to whom Dr. Blake is still only a name. For all such, the article by Dr. Blake which the Newspaper Enterprise Association syndicated through a large portion of the daily press to welcome the Advent season should bring both enlightenment and assurance. The new president of the National Council shows himself in that article unwilling to be satisfied with surface indications of church vigor. After summarizing all the facts which point to "a widespread increase of religious interest" in American life today, Dr. Blake proceeds to name "two basic facts that could very well keep religious leaders awake at night." The first is the danger of pushing a superficial interpretation of the will of God in social and political affairs into fanaticism, and "of confusing or identifying American political interests with Christianity." The second is that of turning what Dr. Blake calls the "new religion" into "magic—that is, to try to use God for their own purposes rather than to serve God and find his purposes." "To try to use God for any purpose, however noble, is always wrong," says the National Council's new head. "There is probably nothing much more important for us in the Western world than to withstand and ultimately defeat communism. But here again, to try to use God or religion even for this vital purpose is to make an instrument out of God. Our concern must be to become God's instruments." Then follows the authentic prophetic note of warning: "Thus the increase in religious interest becomes a possible danger. This increase may be tragic indeed if it becomes a prop and a justification to an essentially unreligious life instead of an aid to new moral and spiritual insights."

Special Letter to a Special Assistant

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER's letter appointing Nelson A. Rockefeller special assistant to the President carried a remarkable proem. Here it is, as it appeared in a story by W. H. Lawrence in the *New York Times* for December 17: "An outstanding characteristic of our nation, I believe, is a constant endeavor to insure each citizen the fullest possible opportunity to develop himself spiritually, socially and economically. Faith in the individual, in his dignity and in his capacity for achievement, is a basic principle of our system. The history of America is the story of men and women who came to these shores from all parts of the world and who have made full use of their opportunities, not only for themselves but in order that others might benefit. Of such is our strength. It is my conviction that all the peoples of the world share the same human cravings for freedom and for opportunities to win economic and social advancement. In keeping with our heritage, we seek to join with all peoples in a common effort to achieve and sustain the basic essentials of human dignity. It is time for all of us to renew our faith in ourselves and in our fellow men. The whole world has been far too preoccupied with fears. It is time for people throughout the world to think again of hopes, of the progress that is within reach." For these reasons, the President said, he was appointing Mr. Rockefeller as an assistant to aid "in the development of increased understanding and cooperation among all peoples." We are glad to call the President's letter to the attention of some who may not have read it in the *Times*. Nelson A. Rockefeller has demonstrated by years of perceptive public service that he is uniquely qualified for the unusual task to which he is called. And it may not be out of line for us to observe that the specifications of the job which the President asks Mr. Rockefeller to fill are also a challenge to every American. Reading them, we can all be strengthened to "renew our faith in ourselves and in our

fellow men" and to "think again of hopes and of the progress that is within reach." We can all work at the job of developing "increased understanding and cooperation among all peoples." We can, and we will.

Moral Perils Continue for Occupation Troops

SENSATIONAL REPORTS concerning moral conditions surrounding American occupation forces in Germany and Japan have, we believe, led to great improvements. There is still prostitution near U.S. army camps in Japan, but the wild tales about deserted G.I. babies have been disproved, while army commanders, chaplains and some Christian missionaries and Japanese pastors are doing their best with limited resources to provide wholesome recreation for the young Americans who are filling out their period of army service six thousand miles from home. In Germany, too, there has been a pronounced change for the better in the occupation centers. Moral conditions began to improve from the time when noncoms were permitted to have their families join them. But there are still a few notoriously bad spots. One of these seems to be Kaiserslautern. Few in this country have heard of Kaiserslautern, but the German press has printed numbers of lurid reports on the prevalence of vice there, blaming it all on the American occupation. The November issue of *Kirche in der Zeit,* leading Protestant paper in the Rhineland, calls Kaiserslautern "the brothel of the Bund (Bonn) republic," and says that "hundreds of women of easy virtue" have moved in to prey on American soldiers and civilian workers. It advises the local churches on what they can do to cope with a scandalous situation—especially to protect their children. Another aspect of the occupation was reflected in an army report, issued on December 12, which showed that sales of liquor in army stores in Germany are averaging 185,000 bottles of whisky and 60,000 bottles of rum, gin and cognac a month. These stores are making a profit of $5.6 million a year, which is turned over to the armed forces welfare fund. This would be against the law if the boys in uniform were in this country. But when they're sent overseas for occupation duty—ah, that's another matter.

Hospital in Haiti Named For Schweitzer

FROM FRANCE to Africa to Arizona to Haiti—and the end is not yet of the outreach of Christian compassion through the influence of the great physician Albert Schweitzer. Recently an unusual "service of participation," held in Park Avenue Christian Church in New York, brought to public knowledge a new event connected with Dr. Schweitzer's work. The service celebrated the laying on December 11 at Deschapelles, Haiti, of the cornerstone of the Albert Schweitzer Hospital, named after the famed Alsatian scholar and musician who has given his life ministering to the sick in tropical Africa. But who named the hospital after Dr. Schweitzer? The story goes back to November 1947, when William Larimer Mellon, Jr., a 37-year-old rancher in Arizona, picked up a copy of *Life* magazine and for the first time learned of Dr. Schweitzer. He became so interested that he made the acquaintance of Emory Ross, then head of the Africa committee of the Foreign Missions Conference, later to join the staff of the National Council of Churches. Through Dr. Ross contact was made with Lambaréné, with the result that Mr. Mellon went to visit Dr. Schweitzer in Africa. The result was a radical change in his life. He resolved to follow, as Schweitzer has done, in the footsteps of the Great Physician. There were many obstacles. He had had only one year in college. But he sold his ranch and, in the seven years since then, this young man has completed college and medical school and is now in the last year of internship. His wife, who shared in the decision, took nurse's training and studied laboratory techniques, while caring for their four children. Meanwhile a decision had been reached to work in Haiti. The government of that country gave a hundred acres of land for a hospital site. The young doctor, who is a member of the Mellon family of Pittsburgh, set up a foundation to build and endow a hospital. While he is finishing his medical training the Albert Schweitzer Hospital will be completed, and when its doors open he will become its doctor. Its dedication should bring a deeper consecration to every Christian. When such things happen, the hope of the world in Christ is constantly renewed.

Find Laity Ready for Desegregation

LAY MEMBERS of American churches are less opposed to dropping racial bars in their congregations than is generally supposed or than they themselves have believed. This, in brief, is the conclusion to which the department of racial and cultural relations of the National Council of Churches has come after studying 405 multiracial congregations in three major denominations. Out of 237,000 members in these churches, only 26 withdrew when they went on a racially inclusive basis. In every such church, pastors reported that dropping the color bar brought "increased spiritual insight, greater warmth of fellowship or greater human assets to the life and work of the congregation." The full account of this large-scale survey is in the December issue of *Outlook,* the National Council magazine. ¶Not all Protestants feel about racial desegregation in the churches as did those surveyed by the National Council. More than 200 Methodist ministers and laymen from five southern states met at South Highlands Church, Birmingham, on December 14 to form an organization to fight any efforts to weaken racial segregation in the Methodist Church. The pastor of the host church, Guy McGowan, after affirming the group's "loyalty and love of the Methodist Church," said that it was acting "from a sincere conviction that [opposition to desegregation] will promote and strengthen the church we love." Sidney W. Smyer, Birmingham lawyer, heads the new organization. ¶Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief sent 200,000 Christmas food parcels, packed with government surplus items, to Yugoslavia. ¶The Greek Orthodox Church has moved against another evangelical group. Two members of a 15-member Plymouth Brethren congregation on the island of Kythera have been arrested and are about to be tried on charges of holding unauthorized public meetings and distributing unauthorized editions of the New Testament. ¶The Pittsburgh Railways Company,

which runs that city's trolleys, has reduced fares one-half for children up to 18 bound for church school on Sunday. ¶Seoul's radio station HLKY, "the radio voice of Christian Korea," began broadcasting shortly before Christmas. It is maintained by the National Council of Churches of Korea and cooperating missions. E. Otto DeCamp, a Presbyterian missionary, is station director, and Lee Cooper, a Methodist missionary, is station engineer. ¶The Christian Century, again aware of its youth, joins in the congratulations being extended to the *Bible Society Record,* monthly of the American Bible Society, whose January issue carries on its cover in appropriate red ink the exultant words: "Volume 100, Number 1."

Looking Ahead with the National Council

TWO WEEKS AGO we listed a dozen achievements claimed by the National Council as the fruits of its first quadrennium (December 15, page 1512). It is a notable list, but the observation has been made that at least some of its items would have been accomplished if the National Council had never come into existence. For example, it is pointed out that the Revised Standard Version of the Bible would have been completed by the International Council of Religious Education, which started the revision many years ago and completed the New Testament before the council was organized. True, but the R.S.V. would not have attracted so much attention or won so quick an acceptance as it did when it was sponsored by, and attacked on account of, the National Council. It is said that Church World Service would have carried on its humanitarian ministry anyway. That is less certain. Church World Service might not have survived if the N.C.C. had not been formed. In any case it would not have been as effective. It is noted that the radio and television ministry of the N.C.C. would have been carried on anyway. It might, but on a much reduced scale and with a more limited acceptance. So one might go down the list. In every instance, though the project may not have been new, the council has magnified work entrusted to it.

I

It is said that the achievements which can be attributed solely to the National Council are impressive, but hardly impressive enough to justify by themselves all the effort and expense that have gone into the National Council. The organization of chaplaincies in the national parks and on seagoing vessels, the supervision of fifty union churches which minister to Americans abroad, the establishment of religious ministries for people in the atomic defense communities—these are useful, it is held, but might have been managed without the council. Possibly so, but these are only a beginning. The one outstanding achievement, as we see it, which would not have come to pass without the National Council, was the organization of 471 church colleges in their first national convocation, uniting them in a continuing study of religion on their campuses and in nurturing the Christian faith of faculty and students. This was important in itself and also prophetic of what the council can do in every major area of church life.

It is not to the discredit of the National Council that it has not been able to realize within four years all the hopes of the churches. It has been compelled to make haste slowly. Much time is required to sort out and gear together all the complexities of more than a dozen national but greatly dissimilar organizations. Most of the energies of the council's officers and staff have been absorbed in this tedious tinkering—a process which has now produced the suitably appalling ecclesiastical word "structuring." But four years should be sufficient to "structure" even an enterprise as large as the National Council. Today its most exigent problem is to get on with the job it was designed to do.

"This Nation Under God"—that immortal phrase of Lincoln's—was the slogan which arched the platform at Cleveland when the council was formed. It dominated the stages of the two General Assemblies of 1952 and 1954. Achieving the reality of this mandate is not easy. Cooperation between churches is not equally developed or equally rooted in history in all parts of the country. It is weakest in the southern and western areas, strongest in the northern and eastern regions. The council has to break out of the sectionalism inherent in the growth of the ecumenical movement.

One of the most urgent problems of the cooperating churches is to develop strong councils of churches in the states and cities of the south and west. The National Council must be prepared to follow this movement in its field outreach, in the location of regional offices. The churches should do their part by making their representation on National Council boards and committees representative of the south and west. The council is already acting to locate its important meetings in various parts of the land. It has made a beginning in casting its ministry of public interpretation of Protestant and Orthodox Christianity on a national scale and in selecting its officers and staff from every section of the country. More progress is needed in all these directions if the council is to become in fact what it is in name and in purpose—a national council.

II

Another area in which the National Council needs and desires to move forward is in relating the laity to every aspect of its life. No emphasis was stronger at the constituting convention in Cleveland than this, yet the results to date are very uneven. Most notable progress has been made in the department of the church and economic life, where the least gains might have been expected. United Church Women continues to flourish, but United Church Men is not much stronger than it was at the outset. Perhaps the main reason is that, with the exception of the Presbyterians, few denominations have produced substantial communionwide fellowships of churchmen. The council can hardly create a strong united movement in this direction until more strong components of such a movement are available. In addition, laymen are lacking in the work of the council because the denominations do not appoint enough laymen to the General Board and other aspects of the council's work. Clerical control of denominational offices tends to perpetuate itself in the National Council.

No substantial improvement is likely until a growing clericalism is dealt with in the denominations.

The National Council can act, however—and we hope it will act—on the matter of its National Lay Committee. This grouping was formed outside the constitution of the National Council and has been a problem ever since it was introduced at Cleveland. It was hoped that its financially able personnel would assist in financing the council and then gradually accept integration into the work of the organization. In some cases this has been done, but in others integration has been resisted. The group was scheduled to disband last June and is now supposed to end its existence next June. There is, as Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam said at Boston, no more reason for laymen to stand outside the council, reaching decisions on questions before the churches without hearing and discussing the facts on which alone judicious decisions can be based, than there is for a National Clergy Committee to do the same thing. Another postponement of this committee's passing would be undesirable. The churches need laymen to stand within their life and to serve on a basis of equality, but not on any other basis.

III

A problem only mentioned at Boston concerns what might be called the ecumenical mission in America. Particularly since the Second World Assembly of the Churches in Evanston, the ecumenical spirit has been outrunning the organized ecumenical movement in this country. A sensitive and diplomatic mission to church leaders whose denominations have lately become aware that they have misunderstood the nature of the spirit that is moving in the National and World councils of churches might do a great deal of good. The National Council has a department of ecumenical relations, but the council can hardly hope to realize its opportunities for service and growth so long as it confines this department to exchanges of students and preachers and supervision of union churches abroad.

The National Council faces other problems, many of which were frankly discussed at Boston but cannot even be mentioned here for lack of space. One which can be named is the question whether the council should set up a department which would correspond to the Faith and Order division of the World Council of Churches. This will be a very important decision. Discussion of the pros and cons will undoubtedly engage the minds of American churchmen for some time to come. But at this moment the most exigent matter before the National Council is probably that of making the series of decisions involved in securing a headquarters and moving its scattered forces under one roof. On that, we venture to make a suggestion.

A new opportunity to give church people a sense of participation in the National Council might be found in relation to the building which is to stand in New York. What is this building intended to be? Obviously it will house the offices and staff of the council and perhaps of some denominations which combine with the council to build it. But in an age when even soap companies, banks and other so-called secular enterprises try to express in architecture a forward-looking, basically spiritual purpose, a building raised by the churches should not stand silent or speak only of the past or only of material objectives.

The United Nations headquarters eloquently proclaims the purpose that organization attempts to serve. A United Churches building could convey an even more important message. Who will declare what it is? Perhaps some way can be found by which the National Council can invite the people in the churches to give their views on what witness their building should proclaim. Determination of purpose is not a job for architects, but one which precedes and illuminates consultations with them. In this determination the people of the churches might help, and in the process strengthen their acquaintance with and their loyalty to the National Council of Churches. The council needs their acquaintance and loyalty as much as they need the council's service and leadership.

Retrospect

WHEN OUR ANNUAL REVIEW was written a year ago it was suggested that a better prospect for world peace might be emerging, that the peoples on both sides of the cold war battleline might be learning to live with their fears. The idea was put forward very tentatively. It was, in fact, cast in the form of a question. But the year which has followed and is now ending has brought substantiation. Tension continues, and will continue. Fears persist, and will persist. But there is a world-wide confidence growing that the danger of an all-out global war is receding. President Eisenhower's belief that the international situation may continue about as it now is for another fifty years, with the nations armed and watchful but not in physical conflict, is becoming the belief of the greater part of mankind. It is a belief which fosters hope, for a half-century of truce, even armed truce, will give time for many a healing process to work toward a lasting peace.

I

In the affairs of nations, 1954 has been a year of major readjustment within the camps rather than between them. It is still impossible to be sure what is going on behind the iron and bamboo curtains with which communism veils its operations. Apparently, however, the post-Stalin regime in the Soviet Union is in earnest in its declared intention to shift major attention to lifting living standards and to an increase of capital goods. There is more give-and-take in its relations with the other communist giant, China, and with its European satellites. It is even assuring Tito of its eagerness to restore normal relations. On this side of the cold war front the year has witnessed a sustained effort to cement a common front, both in the West and in the East. This effort seemed doomed at the time the American-sponsored European Defense Community scheme was scuttled; its success in the revised form worked out by the diplomatic finesse of Sir Anthony Eden is by no means assured. But no defeat any longer appears final; what cannot be accomplished one way, determined diplomacy will accomplish another. The year has likewise witnessed a slow but steady drift toward the cohesion of Prime Minister Nehru's desired coalition of Asian neutrals.

As time passes, it becomes clear that there are three basic

issues involved in the tensions among and between the nations. The first is the issue of coexistence. In the West we do not like the word; it is another perfectly good word which the communists have all but captured. At Evanston the World Council repudiated the word while calling for the thing itself. "Living together in a divided world," the term Evanston used, will not be easy, especially when one of the emerging communist powers, China, is yeasty with the self-confidence that comes from rapid successes, and truculent to revenge the indignities inflicted by 150 years of Western arrogance. Yet leaders on both sides declare that there is no reason why this cannot be accomplished, and their peoples believe the same thing and are more and more insistent that it shall be so. Statesmanship, competent or incompetent, is now to be judged by the expedients to which it resorts to preserve this living together at peace though under tension.

The second basic issue is that of colonialism, with which must be coupled the growing racial pride of the colored peoples and their rejection of former assumptions that this is a white man's world. The year has brought to an end French colonial rule in Indo-China. (There is no reality left in the French claims in south Vietnam.) It has seen the French leave India and the British the Suez canal zone. It has seen Iran conclude an agreement for the development of its oil that was economically fair and politically respectful of Iranian sovereignty. It has seen the formation of a new, self-governing federation in central Africa, headed toward becoming another independent dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations. There are plenty of colonial problems left. They reverberate louder every year in the halls of the United Nations—French North Africa, Cyprus, West New Guinea, the relation of the nominally independent states of Central America to the "Colossus of the North." But the movement toward liquidation of the colonialism of the past 200 years goes steadily ahead, and with it grows the promise of the future.

The year's report on developments regarding race is not as hopeful. There was good news from the United States, as will presently be noted, but the news from South Africa was very bad indeed. As the year was closing, the Union of South Africa placed its destinies in the hands of a prime minister who gave every promise, both by word and by the testimony of his intractable nature, of his intention to force the racial issue to a catastrophic conflict. In that determination, alas, he had the approval of a majority of the whites, by no means confined to the Afrikanders in his Nationalist party, with the Union's dominant Dutch Reformed Church ready to provide religious sanctions.

As to the third great issue in international affairs, the development of hydrogen bombs and other weapons for mass destruction (what is coming to be known as A-B-C, atomic-bacteriological-chemical, warfare), 1954 has brought the first thin ray of hope since Hiroshima. Russian delegates have revealed enough readiness to modify previous stands to encourage the U.N. to take up anew the effort to negotiate some form of international inspection and atomic disarmament. President Eisenhower's proposal for international cooperation in the use of fissionable materials for peaceful purposes has begun to show signs of real life. The day when man may live in safety with these monsters of his own devising is a long way off, and the warnings of scientists and political leaders increase in their gravity. But the very desperation of man's peril is contributing to his determination to bring these weapons under control.

II

For the United States, the record of the year has been a confusing one. Despite drought over wide regions, the unparalleled prosperity of the country continues. The year is ending with a stock market boom that has passed the 1929 highs—and has brought reminders of what followed 1929. There seems to be, however, slight apprehension as to the internal outlook. Such anxiety as afflicts the American public concerns largely this nation's role in world affairs. The United States is still trying to readjust its thinking and its policies to the changed position in international relations in which it found itself ten years ago, and it continues to find this a demanding and disturbing task.

Most of the significant events of the year have related to this effort to work out a new world position. It has contributed to the evaporating meaning of party labels, so that a congressional election has had little relevance to the direction the nation's international policies will take. The nature and extent of our worldwide commitments has next to nothing to do with whether a citizen votes Republican or Democratic, but there is a pervasive sense of irrationality that national interest should so soon require the rearmament of former enemies. Except in the deep south, there is satisfaction that the courts should have moved against racial segregation, partly because this brings our social practice somewhat more into accord with our democratic pretensions, but even more because of the improvement in the position from which we can deal with the world of color. And the year has brought an increasing sobriety into the citizenry's contemplation of both domestic and foreign problems—a sobriety reflected in the diminishing stature of such an irresponsible demagogue as Senator McCarthy and the firm regard in which the nation holds a Chief Executive who calls for "the courage to be patient" in dealing with all provocations.

III

This has been a notable year for the churches. It has been the year of the Evanston assembly of the World Council—an event whose significance for the ecumenical movement among the non-Roman communions needs no underlining. Two major efforts toward denominational unions (Presbyterians; Congregational-Evangelical and Reformed) have been pushed forward in this country; the outcome in both cases is still in doubt. Another is in progress in north India. In the Orthodox world it seemed for a few months that the communist attack on religion in Russia was about to be renewed, but as the year ends that threat, too, is ending. But traditional forms of missionary work are increasingly challenged in the name of national, cultural and racial pride. This challenge has taken its most articulate form in India, where missions dispatched from the West and carried on by Westerners face almost as dubious a future as in China.

For the Roman Catholic Church, 1954 will be remembered as the Marian year in which all the resources of the papacy and its episcopacy were thrown into promotion of

the Marian cult as the commanding popular devotion of the Roman laity. That minority of the world's Jews who have settled in the Zionist state of Israel continued to grapple with the question as to how far the laws and customs of a premedieval talmudic orthodoxy should fix the social order of what aspires to be a Middle Eastern pattern of democracy. The Muslim advance gained vigor in Africa, yet during the year for the first time in history Muslim and Christian scholars met in the Near East to explore possibilities for a common confrontation of the materialistic secularism of our age. The conference at Bhamdoun made little impression on the West as an event, which also was true when later a friendly delegation of Muslim observers arrived at the Evanston assembly. But both were portents worthy of Christian note.

In the United States the year brought a new high in church membership and attendance, a new high in gifts to religious causes, a new attention to religious matters in the press and over radio and television. Books inspired by what has been called "the cult of reassurance" stayed high on the best-seller lists. But there were as many who viewed the best publicized of these manifestations with misgiving (note the words of the new president of the National Council of Churches on another page) as found in them evidence of a spiritual awakening. Evanston 1954 proclaimed "Christ—the Hope of the World." But Christ is the world's judgment as truly as its hope. And judgment, today as always, begins at the house of God.

The Inside Story

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Have you noticed that 1954 has been the 100th anniversary of the publication of Thoreau's *Walden?* That merits a passing salute, at least. One item, particularly, is worth recalling: the entry Henry Thoreau made in his journal on the day that *Walden* was published. Here it is: "August 9, 1854. Elderberries. *Walden* published. Waxwork (the false bittersweet) yellowing." There is something to look at! Elderberries and bittersweet were at least as important as his book. He could take a book in his stride and set it down in a casual manner. Quite an art!

Many of us—perhaps most of us—if we had just given a classic to the world, would have engaged a brass band, or at least a fife-and-drum corps, so that they might sound forth with "Hail to the Chief." That is just one little difference between most of us and Thoreau. Frequently, if we have had any accomplishment, such as being elected secretary of the Village Improvement Society or writing a letter to the newspaper, we become an Ancient Mariner, and buttonhole passers-by to give them a blow-by-blow description of the whole works.

Perhaps "taking it in your stride" is a mark of greatness. John Keats once wrote in a letter, when he was visiting: "I took some thin paper and wrote some verses. They are called The Eve of St. Agnes." Not a bad use for "thin paper." But Keats, like Thoreau, could take it in his stride.

The reason that Thoreau could link *Walden* casually with elderberries and bittersweet was that his awareness of the world of nature made the "inside story" of sensitive perception more important than any merely outside happenings. He was one of those happy mortals who can see that what goes on in the inside of the heart and mind is not only more worth while but also more exciting. So often the outside story swamps the inside story into Lilliputian proportions. As Carlyle remarked, we feel that the salutation "Good morning, Clothes," or "Good morning, Medals," is far more fitting than "Good morning, Soul."

A contemporary poet, Thomas Caldecott Chubb, has put this relative importance of the inside story of the soul over the outside story of clothes, medals and other items into a poem entitled "Biography." He asks his biographer not to set down that he lived in a certain place, wrote this book or that, or studied laboriously and learned this or that fact, but that he looked on the face of beauty

> On such a moonlit night, or such a dawn
> All diamonded with dew upon the lawn.

He cautions his biographer not to say what he did or thought,

> But rather: "Here he heard the mockingbird,
> Smelled the wistaria, saw the Cherokee rose."

We might celebrate the *Walden* centenary fittingly by asking ourselves how the inside story compares to the outside one. Some years ago a professional holy man of India, as a penance, added a large iron ring to his legs every year. Finally he got so heavy that the railroad refused to accept him as a passenger and classified him as freight. A great many people, if they were weighed by what they carry inside them, would go forward as freight.

Hoping you are not the same,

Yours, SIMEON STYLITES.

VERSE

Ignorance

IGNORANCE
Is an ass on which
Bigotry rides along the
Muddy road of intolerance.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

Enigma

THAT MAN is given rich, green paradise
And leaves a stalkless waste of stumps and slag;
That council-halls betray the skilled and wise,
To lift, by law, a black-skulled pirate flag;
That science plots to hatch new hawks of doom,
And politics entice the wolves and stoats;
That millions, grappling, scorn the rose in bloom
To grasp, for booty, at each other's throats;
That, running lamb-like, they are swept in flocks,
Yet growl like bears, with cries of "Race!" and "Creed!"—
All this means what? The clownish reason mocks
The seeker . . . till the dulled eyes cease to heed.
But look no further if you ask to know
Why domes lie shattered and the smoke-winds blow.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

The Pace of Our Christian Witness

By George F. MacLeod

IN ADDRESSING this first national gathering since Evanston left us all in its debt, I choose to speak of the pace of our Christian witness. Evanston has set all our targets high. The world church is committed to no less than the assertion of the kingship of Christ in all life. The question I would raise is this: Is our pace fast enough in asserting that kingship?

Arthur Koestler, the author and ex-Communist, recalls being in a French concentration camp in 1939. There he was teased by the serenity of a Roman priest (also confined) while Koestler was frothing with impatience at the worsening world. "Why are you so serene?" he asked. "Because," said the priest, "we can afford to wait." But can we? The Chinese general who recently invaded Tibet was brought up at a Christian school. Not long ago an old missionary teacher asked him why he became a Communist. "Christianity is good," replied the general, "but it is too slow."

Now of course we have "all the answers" to that Communist. If this is God's world, if he is revealed in Christ, then the short cut of communism isn't even the longest way round. If this is God's world as he is revealed in Christ, then there is no road at all the communist way. Yet at the judgment we are not going to be asked if we had "all the answers" to communism. But we well may be asked: Did *we* go at God's pace?

"Why are you worried?" Emerson was once asked. He replied, "The trouble is that I am in a hurry and God is not." But suppose, in our day, it is God that is in a hurry and we are not. Can we afford to wait? Will God honor us if we fail to go God's pace?

I

What do I mean? Everyone knows that the Italian government is getting down to it in south Italy with communications, power, and land distribution to meet the shocking poverty and depression of the people. Why then are there some eight million Communists in Italy? Well, because the people of south Italy have no interest at all in the new legislation. Why? Because since 1870 commissions have been coming down and promises have been made in the name of social justice. Since 1870 the church of Christ has acknowledged the scandal—but actual communications and land distribution faltered till 1952.

Any psychologist will tell you of course why I have set these opening words in terms of Arthur Koestler and south Italy. It is so much easier to deplore the failure of Italian Catholics than the failure of pace in your land and mine, faced by two-thirds of this world still starving. "We can afford to wait." We can afford to wait on God's pace. But is God's pace faster than our steps?

How can we quicken our pace? I do not intend to belabor you with one more exhortation to be earnest. Modern churchmen, God knows, are earnest enough. What I would suggest is a fundamental retracing: to raise a thought—and the issues that arise from it.

First, the thought. In all the plethora of words I heard last summer, one sentence stands out. It stands as steady as the light in the Capitol stands out against the night glow of Washington. It came from John MacMurray, the author of *Creative Society*. It was: "The unique contribution of the Hebrew people to religion was that they did away with it." What did he mean?

Religion—that is, prior to the coming of Israel as God's chosen people and supremely prior to the time that God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law—was about God, about "the Other," about eternity. It was world-denying: summarized best perhaps in the Buddhist, whose supreme holiness is to be walled in a cave, with one meal a day handed in, with prayer wheel to be turned to set his sensibilities to sleep, that with his spirit he may soar even now into "union" with God. It was about union with "God, up there." Religion was what to do about God thus conceived.

II

Since the Hebrew contribution, religion is about God/Man and what to do about "Him, down here." "I and the Father are one: Is it not written ye are gods? and the law cannot be broken."

Its unfolding begins—if you like—when Moses saw a thornbush aflame: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place *where you stand* is holy ground." It is there in the Ten Commandments: how have communion with God? Don't steal, don't lie, don't covet, don't violate the person of another. It is there when they settle in the Holy Land: how have communion with God? Arrange a debt cancellation every fifty years, a year of jubilee, that the improvident may recover their dignity and that those who have gathered in too much may retain their dignity. It is there in the social prophets (and note the name) saying: "Get back to your neighbor: not to your Chaldean stuff (from which Abraham moved away): not to your Egyptian stuff (from which God delivered you). If you want revival, get down to your social order and your economic justice. Then you will have permanent revival; you 'will be like a watered garden whose waters fail not.' "

This central theme of the here-and-now as the only place to meet God crops up and up, always with the same result. The people murmur. They do not like it—neither the Ten Commandments, nor the year of jubilee, nor the social prophets. Indeed they did away with it and evolved instead the most meticulous religious demands you can conceive—thousands of laws, about the distance to walk on Sunday, the number of times to wash your hands, the number of sparrows that atoned for a certain sin. But all such was their defection, only the fiercer because they had known the truth.

When John the Baptist came, pointing to the great fulfillment, and all men asked what they were to do, John recalled them to three marks of repentance, every one of them economic. Neither did they like John.

When, in the fullness of time, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, his whole message is this essential return. Born in a stable, and not a palace; carpenter, not neophyte; his first sermon about "the year of jubilee," and he declared his "oneness with the Father" by healing and by feeding bodies. His illustrations were more than illustrations. Shepherds and plowmen, fishermen and merchants, debtors and judges, widows and travelers—these were the actors in God's drama. Market places and queues of unemployed, bits of money and needles—these were the scenes and stage properties in which God's plot for our salvation was portrayed. Among the vines and the lilies and the fig trees God walked in this world that was his garden. Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place *where you stand* becomes the ground of holiness.

The unique contribution of the Hebrew people to religion was that they did away with it. So when Jesus came to die, he died without a city wall. Outside "holiness" at the common garbage heap, at an international crossroads. He died, not in a cathedral between two candles but on a cross between two thieves. And Calvary ever since has become the holiest place on earth. Holiness is transformed. It is supremely declared where men gather and soldiers gamble and thieves curse.

The unique contribution of Jesus to religion is that he did away with it. And through all the Christian centuries this golden thread keeps reappearing as the central motif of the pattern.

It was there in St. Martin, who electrified Europe—so ceremonial had Europe again become—by giving his cloak to a beggar and sharing with his batman, on alternate days, the cleaning of each other's armor. And believe me, the people murmured.

It was there in St. Francis, flinging out the ecclesiastical flowers that choked the altar and bedecking it instead with lilies of the field; kissing a leper as his witness to the life of holiness. And believe me, the people murmured.

It is there in our day in Grenfell, in Schweitzer, in Kagawa, and in a multitude of humble lives. "What do you do as a Christian?" asked a perfervid evangelist of a fellow traveler in the train. "I bake," he replied. No exhortation of the evangelist could prevail on him to admit a more "religious" interest than his job. That man knew the unique contribution to life that Jesus has made.

III

So much then for the thought. Jesus transferred the real place of holiness from the ecclesiastical scene to the crossroads of history where men gather and soldiers gamble and thieves curse. The place of primary holiness is not the place where men worship but where men work. Repeat that last sentence three times to yourself—and you can still hardly believe it. Yet only when we believe it, really believe it, will we begin to go at God's pace and be sufficient for our times.

What does it begin to mean for us? In the first place it means we must challenge this blessed word "integration." I suggest that all phrases beginning "Christianity and . . ." should immediately raise our suspicions. Christianity and politics, Christianity and industry, Christianity and education—such can become the greatest snare (though originally designed as bait). "Religion and life" conferences are, I suggest, confused from the start by the very title, because they suggest we are here to build a bridge. But how build a bridge when Jesus did away with the two banks? I do not believe our Lord would have countenanced for a moment the separation implied between religion and life. So long as we keep thinking of two banks we invariably make the church bank of the river the primary place of holiness, and the place which God came to redeem (and in prophecy has redeemed) becomes the alien shore. And at once we have (oh so gladly) given ourselves permission to go slow there. We think to serve God there with yet one more commission or committee—lest in any wise we might get really committed. We think to serve God with one more analysis, to prevent any chance that we might personally be annihilated. Whereas we haven't started unless we are committed, and only the annihilated can truly analyze. He that doeth the will shall know the doctrine.

IV

In the second place, it means a new setting, a new mood for our prayers and our contemplation. It is here that I protest against that school of contemplation which urges that in our retreats and quiet times we should confine ourselves to an experience of communion with "God alone," which scorns that our prayers be in any means utilitarian, which would get lost in the "wholly Other." Christ and the Father are one and we are in Christ; it is written we are gods, and the law cannot be broken. I doubt not that Italian mystics achieve a far greater success than we do in the remarkable achievement of "being lost in God alone," while with great serenity the south Italians continue for a century devoid of communication, power and sufficient land.

Surely the superb first centuries of our faith were not concerned with such mystic achievement. They were concerned with men's bodies as the temples of the Holy Ghost (for we are God's); hence their financial responsibility for each other and hence their pacifism. Surely what happened at the compromise with Constantine was that overnight the empire became Christian (baptized as it were by hose-pipe) and the representatives of the faith perforce took into their bosom vast disparities of wealth and wars on every frontier. Where then were men to go for "communion with God"—that communion which had previously been expressed in brotherhood in the belief that Christ and the Father were one, that men thus ennobled were God's and that in our respect for men was the new place of holiness? Where then were men to go for "communion with God"—with vast disparities of wealth and wars on every frontier? Where did they go but to the deserts of Egypt, where they drank anew of Eastern faiths, walled themselves off again (for all the world like Buddhists), recovered the remarkable feat of mystic communion, and reasserted that understanding of religion which it was the unique contribution of the Hebrew people to annul.

Does this, then, mean no retreats or quiet times? On the contrary, when the place where we must be holy is the market place and the crossroads, when such is our real meeting place with God, then quiet time becomes not a luxury for the retreatant type but the urgent necessity of every Christian. Christ was utilitarian when he went into the desert to be tempted—that he might know the nature of his ministry among men; utilitarian when he went apart

—because power had been taken out of him; utilitarian when he took the disciples up the mountainside—that he might speak of his death; utilitarian when he took them apart—that they might know the nature of their ministry among men, because he was training them to be gods among men—"Hereby know we that we *are* passed from death unto life because we love the brethren." Gethsemane is not significant for its garden. Gethsemane is significant for its cup. Gethsemane is significant for its preparation for the place of real holiness, where men gather and soldiers gamble and thieves curse. Christian prayer is withdrawal that we may the better praise Him in the central sanctuary that is his earth.

V

The final thing it begins to mean is that we will be taken out into that world where Christ is now revealing himself, more than he is now revealing himself in his churches. "Tell me," said a German girl, on a visit that I once made to Düsseldorf, "do you not think it possible that the atom is a second apple?" We move, that is, into an era where everything cries glory. We move into an era where there is no such thing as dead matter: where every common bush is aflame with God, where the ultimate nature of matter can only be described as "Light/Energy," where the Cosmic Christ is rising up to challenge us in all that men once called material and secular. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place where thou standest is holy ground." In sober scientific fact, the place where we stand, secular though we may call it, is holy ground. These are the intoxicating truths that come to meet us when we accept the challenge that Jesus came to do away with religion.

One hundred years ago, in an age of apparent prosperity, Karl Marx was writing (utterly unknown) in the British Museum his dismal materialistic dirge. What he then wrote is now the commonplace of the market place and factory. Today in an age of world want, there are men writing in the British Museum (we hardly know them yet) declaring the spiritual nature of all things. All is Light/Energy. It is for us to declare who the Light of the World is and who is its Energy and Life. Prophets and kings have longed to see the day which we see and have not seen it. In Christ "we are God's"; he is the fulfillment of the law that cannot be broken.

Why do we not enter in? Because if we did the people would murmur. Why do we not enter in? Because we too would murmur, so terrific is the cost and challenge of admitting him really to be here. To meet that cost we must have worship and must recover in all their vibrant clarity the sacraments. We must have worship, too, every possible oblation of praise, to offer to him who declared to us so wonderful a God.

The McCarthy Falange

By Alson J. Smith

ON FEBRUARY 22, 1939, this writer, then a young and idealistic minister, attended what was called a "George Washington's Birthday Exercise" at Madison Square Garden in New York. A report of that meeting appeared in the March 8, 1939, issue of The Christian Century under the title "I Went to a Nazi Rally." On November 29, 1954, the same writer, with both youth and idealism somewhat dimmed by the years, went back to Madison Square Garden for another rally.

The 1939 rally was sponsored by the German-American Bund. It jammed the garden with a marching, shouting, singing mob of anti-Semitic fanatics. This 1954 rally was put on by something called "Ten Million Americans for Justice." It was a meeting to protest the impending censure by the United States Senate of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The tub-thumpers for Ten Million Americans had promised to jam the garden with McCarthy *aficionados* and pack near-by streets with the overflow—a crowd guaranteed to fill the Senate with such trepidation that Unser Joe would be let off with no more than a patty-cake reprimand for using strong language. The rally was proclaimed as the culmination of a campaign to get 10 million signatures to petitions opposing censure. The sponsors promised that announcement of the exact number of petitioners would be a high point of the evening.

Looking over the advance notices, one gathered that this meeting would in some respects parallel the Bund rally of fifteen years before. The New York papers were comparing the two, and the police stated that their preparations to handle the affair would be the same as for the Bund rally and for subsequent Communist shindigs in the same arena. Elaborate plans were made to handle hordes of pickets and counterpickets, crackpots, sightseers, and potential trouble-makers—plans involving paddy-wagons, troops of mounted police, and scores of plain-clothes men both inside and outside the Garden. The police were ready for anything, and the pre-rally fulminations of the McCarthy high command made such precautions appear justified.

A Calm 'Beehive'

Remembering that it had been almost impossible to obtain tickets to the Bund rally and that I finally had to wheedle one out of a Yorkville *Knackwurst* merchant at an inflated price, I set out on the morning of the Ten Million meeting to scare up a ticket. The logical place to begin seemed to be the general headquarters of the Ten Million at the Hotel Biltmore, described by the press as a "beehive of activity," with long lines of embattled patriots waiting to hand in petitions and obtain fresh ones, and with tickets for the meeting "scarce" and "going like hot cakes."

At the Biltmore I was pleasantly surprised. There weren't any long lines; in fact, there weren't any lines. Three or four people were standing around talking, and an elderly gentleman was sorting the petitions piled in great confusion

on a table. A large stack of tickets flanked the petitions, and when I asked for one he handed it to me eagerly. "Only one?" he murmured wistfully. "Just for myself," I said. "Like some petitions?" he inquired. "Not just now, thanks." I walked out of the "beehive" with the pasteboard in my topcoat pocket. If the tickets were going like hot cakes, the maple syrup people were facing bankruptcy.

Approaching the garden at 7 p.m., I was struck with the almost complete lack of interest in the affair manifested by the usually volatile and cause-conscious citizens of New York. The usual bums were loitering down Eighth avenue looking in at the liquor store windows, and there were the usual single men making for the fleshpots of the midtown west side. Distributors of free tickets tried to entice passers-by into the garden, announcing that it was a good show and "all free," but there were no takers. One wag handed out tickets for a 1952 Stevenson-for-President rally; these were solemnly honored for admission by the poker-faced Garden attendants. In the lobby salesmen half-heartedly hawked "McCarthy novelties" and did a very poor business. The "novelties," retailing at $1 per envelope, consisted of half a dozen red, white and blue stickers reading "God Bless Joe McCarthy" and a few buttons of like hue stating that "Joe Must Stay."

Empty Seats

Inside, the Garden was almost empty. An attempt had been made to make the vast auditorium look like the scene of a political convention, with state signs spaced at intervals along the mezzanine, and on the main floor little placards bearing the names of cities sending delegations. The "cities" were not impressive, being limited to such centers of culture as Secaucus, Passaic, West New York, Lodi, Fort Lee —all communities within hailing distance. In the farthest reaches of the balcony a large green-and-white sign proclaimed a section of seats as the rallying point for the Irish-American Minute Men of 1949. It remained empty throughout the evening.

A band, nattily accoutered in yellow and brown uniforms, entertained the crowd. Ten Million Americans had flown in this musical aggregation from Hortonsville, Wisconsin, for sentimental reasons, Hortonsville being in the neighborhood of Appleton, the mecca of all true believers. It was a high school band, and its repertoire seemed limited to "On Wisconsin." The rendering of this number was greeted with applause and cheers throughout the evening. The apple-cheeked country kids, who had obviously come along just for the ride, seemed curiously out of place.

By eight o'clock, when the meeting was scheduled to start, the Garden was not half full. At 8:25, when Major George Racey Jordan, who was running the show, announced that "a young man will do some entertaining," it was perhaps half filled, and it never got much more than that. The Garden management estimated 12,000 present. Capacity, with standees, is close to 24,000. Nazis, Communists, the Methodists, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Harlem Globe-Trotters and the New York Rangers have filled this auditorium, to say nothing of Rocky Marciano, Jersey Joe Walcott, and the fanciers of dogs, cats and horses. But Ten Million Americans couldn't come close. The first speaker of the evening, Major Al Williams, a World War I ace, said that "a prairie fire is sweeping America and the grass is dry," but the prairie in the vicinity of Eighth avenue and 49th street seemed to be more than a bit damp.

The young man who entertained turned out to be a goateed blues-singer and bebopper named Hamm. "God bless Joe McCarthy!" he shouted. "Long may he reign over all he surveys!" Evidently Mr. Hamm had Joe confused with some higher authority, a natural error. He announced that he had written a song called "In the Good Old U.S.A." and had sent it to the army so the army band could learn it. Then he said he would "shake, rattle and roll" to the tune of "Tuxedo Junction." The Hortonsville band did not know "Tuxedo Junction," but Mr. Hamm shook, rattled and rolled unaccompanied. He got a scattering of applause.

The Persecution Motif

After the shaking, rattling and rolling had subsided, a Roman Catholic bishop, the Right Reverend Cuthbert O'Hara, was called upon for an invocation. The good bishop had put in two uncomfortable years in a Red Chinese jail, and he now proceeded to tell the Almighty about it, reading from several pages of manuscript. After filing this complaint he demanded redress, which was not immediately forthcoming. Then a Mr. Feeney sang the national anthem, and the crowd settled back for the fireworks.

These sputtered fitfully during the evening. Major Al Williams was introduced as a hero who had been "greatly crushed" by some conspiracy. The major hinted darkly of "brain-washing" and cried that "the people who pay for wars and die in wars are determined to speak!" Was there a move to censure Senator Fulbright (Boo!), a typical Rhodes scholar? (Laughter.) No! "They say McCarthy urged soldiers to disregard orders from above. God knows I've done that for all the years!"

The speeches were all variations on the same theme: McCarthy is being persecuted. The U.N. is a fraud. "Dissolve those bonds which weaken and destroy devotion to country!" Coexistence is a trap. "Who wants to shake their bloody hands? Flanders!" At mention of the hated name, a dozen signs appeared reading "Get the Net!" and "Flanders, why don't you censure Paul Revere for disturbing the peace?" Roars of laughter, boos. There were howls of derision and catcalls for the *New York Times,* General George Marshall, "Cry-baby" General Zwicker, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dean Acheson, Professor Albert Einstein, and—second only to the catcalls elicited by the name of Flanders—the President of the United States. "I mean that to go right to the top of this land!" shouted Williams, excoriating those who "reach high places and then forget where they came from." "Down with Eisenhower!" shrieked a prognathous female from the Secaucus delegation.

Cheers for the Heroes

The crowd had its heroes, too. There were cheers for "Bill" Knowland, George Sokolsky, Martin Dies, General MacArthur and the late Senator Pat McCarran. And most of all for "Joe." Signs waved madly at every mention of his name—"McCarthy for President in '56," "Young Americans for McCarthy forever and in eternity," "Fight to the death for Joe McCarthy."

There were speeches by a Mrs. Brossard, representing

the D.A.R.; Major George Racey Jordan and Admiral John C. Crommelin; former New Jersey Governor Charles Edison; Professor Godfrey Schmidt of Fordham; a militant young ex-major by the name of Heinle, who had been connected with Radio Free Europe. There were formal platform appearances by Lieutenant General Pedro A. del Valle and by Dr. J. Oliver Buswell, who said he represented the American Council of Christian Churches. There were wire recordings of speeches by the governor of Utah, by General George Stratemeyer, and by Admiral William H. Standley, "one American ambassador who wasn't afraid to stand up to Joe Stalin!" There were introductions of such stalwarts as Westbrook Pegler, Ex-Representative Hamilton Fish, Archibald Roosevelt, and young Bill Buckley, author of *God and Man at Yale, McCarthy and His Enemies* and other patriotic prose. Not introduced but visible in the audience were the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, masquerading as a Texas oil man beneath a ten-gallon hat, Joseph B. Kamp, and other veteran conspiracy-smellers.

'The Hidden Force'

The speeches themselves were weirdly inflammatory, being a mixture of Know-Nothing isolationism and immediate blood-and-thunder interventionism. "If we had guts at the top of this land China would be blockaded!" shouted Williams. "Get in the first blow!" advised Professor Schmidt—an admonition which drew from the back of the mezzanine a stentorian Brooklynese "Foist tings foist!"

There was an ugly moment when a lady *Life* photographer was almost mobbed and had to be escorted from the hall to the accompaniment of cries of "Kill the Communist!" and "God bless America!" There was a dramatic moment when a searching spotlight probed through the crowd and located a minor hero, Roy Cohn, who was invited to the platform for a few impromptu remarks, which he made from notes. "Give 'em hell, Roy," shouted the crowd. "Pour it on!" Signs, not altogether impromptu, announced that Roy Cohn would be "our next senator." There was a touching moment when the "big surprise," announced early in the evening, finally appeared. It was Jean McCarthy, who blushed prettily and tried to ignore the bleats of "Where's Joe?" and "We want Joe!" The crowd had confidently expected the "surprise" to be Joe himself; when it turned out to be his wife, his followers were not as cordial as they might have been.

It was Admiral Crommelin—far and away the most impressive speaker in this strange mélange—who produced the phrase that would seem to be the key to an understanding of what makes this McCarthy falange tick. That phrase, which he used again and again, was "the hidden force." The "hidden force" was the secret, malevolent frustrator of good patriotic Americans, the recognizer of Soviet Russia back in 1933, the insidious power corrupting the state department and seeding it with homosexuals and security risks. It was the "hidden force" that defeated the Bricker amendment, dragged the country into World Wars I and II, unified the armed services (Crommelin was forced to retire for opposing unification), denied reinforcements to Dienbienphu, and now calls for "coexistence" and the censure of Joe McCarthy. History is simple: the hidden force defeats America on land, on the sea and in the air.

In order to understand the appeal of the hidden-force theory to the crowd in Madison Square Garden and to the McCarthy falangists everywhere, it is necessary to scrutinize closely these people for whom the junior senator from Wisconsin is an object of almost religious veneration.

Who Follows in His Train?

By and large, the people demanding to know "Who promoted Peress?" and "Why don't they censure Flanders?" and crying "God bless Joe McCarthy," are the same people who were peddling *Social Justice,* hollering up Father Coughlin, and scrawling anti-Semitic filth on subway posters back in 1939. They are older now. One of the characteristics of this crowd in Madison Square Garden was its lack of youth. It was predominantly a middle-aged and elderly crowd. Such young people as were present ran to pimply-faced youths in leather windbreakers—a genus indigenous to New York's middle west side—and fresh-faced girls in convent-school uniform. Like the old "Christian Fronters" the crowd was 90 per cent Irish in background, and as it filed into the Garden one might have been pardoned for asking, "What time does the bingo start?" In a city like New York, which is the largest Jewish and the largest Negro metropolis in the world, and the second- or third-largest Italian, it is odd that there were so few Jewish, Negro and Italian faces in evidence.

In a city with almost two million people of Protestant background, the only Protestant present and identifiable as such was the Reverend Mr. Buswell, representing a fundamentalist minority. There was a slight Teutonic tinge to the crowd, a throwback to the old Bund and America First days. Next to the Irish majority, the most obvious element in this falange was the "Old American" of the patriotic-societies variety, the type that haunts the genealogical room of the New York public library. Ham Fish is a good representative of this ingredient in the blend, and Mrs. Brossard is another. These are the 200 per cent patriots who welcome any allies in their continuous and long-standing warfare against the "hidden force."

The one other recognizable component of the crowd at Madison Square Garden was the merest sprinkling of die-hard adherents of the late Senator Robert Taft. They were quiet and well dressed. Some of them wore huge orange buttons with the word "Taft" in blue, the same buttons that were so prominent at the Republican national convention at Chicago in 1952. These are the Constitutionalists, the people whose voices are Senators Knowland, Bricker and Dirksen.

Expensive Frustration

The McCarthy falange, then, is made up—at least in its east coast corps—of a large nucleus of irritable, middle-aged and elderly people of Irish background, surrounded by a scattering of professional patriots, disgruntled ex-army and navy officers, remnants of the old German-American Bund, a few Taft isolationists, and a minuscule fringe of priests and recent parochial- and convent-school graduates who have absorbed a certain amount of pro-McCarthy fanaticism from their teachers and spiritual mentors.

What is it that all these people have in common, the thing of which Joe McCarthy is a symbol, the element that

lends credibility to the hidden-force theory of recent history?

It is simply this: all these people are frustrated. Fifteen years ago the scapegoat held responsible in their twisted imaginations for defeating them in their hopes and dreams was the Jew. Today it is the "hidden force," and most of them are convinced, in spite of their momentary affection for Roy Cohn, Dave Schine and Rabbi Ben Schultz, that there is a Hebrew hidden somewhere in the hidden-force woodpile. Father Coughlin with his *Social Justice* and his "Christian Front" spoke directly to this frustration. In the Promised Land, these people have not been able to obtain the promised things. They are still, by and large, economically depressed, still living in the crowded tenements and row-houses of Brooklyn, Manhattan's west side, the cheap Jersey bus-commuting communities, the West Roxbury and South End sections of Boston. They have lost hope. Significantly their own sons and daughters are not with them in the McCarthy falange because they are young and still have hope. McCarthy, these frustrated, aging Irish people feel, is one of them. He speaks for them. Like them, he is a good Catholic who is being bilked at every turn by the "hidden force." He is the Coughlinite prototype battling for "social justice."

For the few priests and the pimply-faced young men and fresh-faced convent-school girls who follow them, McCarthy is the stalwart Catholic crusader seeking to reclaim the Holy Land from the infidels. When a New York monsignor told a communion breakfast that a $5 million fund had been raised to "get" McCarthy, he was speaking (with no knowledge of the facts) for this minority of the priesthood. It *is* a minority—there is no unanimity within the Roman Catholic Church on McCarthy. He is attacked and defended with equal vigor inside the church.

Bluebloods at Bay

Most frustrated of all are the Old Americans, the genealogical fetishists. Oddly enough, many of them are also economically depressed, and those who aren't are scared to death that they will be if the "hidden force" is able to hang on to the power to tax. For them, the whole significance of life is in the past. They have Abraham for their father, and if God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham, then they are against God. They are the self-constituted keepers of the national heritage, and any revolutionists more recent than 1776 above the Mason-Dixon line or 1865 below it are anathema to them. Unable to comprehend the dynamics of the heritage they think of themselves as preserving, they are dragged along protestingly into a future which they do not understand and of which they are afraid. Afflicted with infantilism, they are firmly fixated in the glorious past and have no intention of going forward or letting the nation go forward if they can prevent it. Which they can't. Hence the frustration, compounded by the incomprehensible fact that their blue blood has not automatically brought riches, recognition and social prestige.

The frustration of the Bundists, the ex-officers and the isolationists is too obvious to call for analysis. History has defeated them; they know it but cannot accept it emotionally.

Some observers are talking about the McCarthy falange as the possible beginning of a third party. True, Huey Long was able to build a powerful political machine out of a *Lumpenproletariat* not unlike the McCarthyites, with the secret backing of some moneyed people who bear at least a superficial resemblance to the Texas oil tycoons who allegedly supply Senator Joe with funds. But Huey Long was a political organizer of genius. McCarthy has shown no ability as an organizer, a builder. He is a crafty exploiter of fears, a band-wagon rider sensitive to the mood of the horses; but over the long haul he could not appeal to large and politically potent segments of American life—the south, labor, the Negroes, the Jews, the Protestant farmers of the midwest, the Citizens-for-Eisenhower crowd, the "eggheads," the youth.

Not a Revolution

Neither is the McCarthy falange a revolutionary cabal. It is more a band of raggle-taggle gypsies. It is a loud, nagging nuisance, but it is not a revolution. Such political significance as it has is given to it not by McCarthy, but by Knowland, Dirksen, Bridges and their ilk.

It was possible to loath and fear the Bundists back in 1939. But when they are seen close up one can neither loath nor fear these frustrated whiners about the "hidden force"; one can only pity. They are our real have-nots, psychologically and economically. Third parties and revolutions have to be made of sterner stuff.

Incidentally, they didn't get their ten million signatures. *Life* says they got "just over two million."

V E R S E

Feeding the Five Thousand

AS IF the barley loaves contained the yield
Of every grain stalk in the world's vast field
He offered bounteous bread.

As if those fishes were to signify
The ocean's catch until all shores turn dry,
The multitudes were fed.

ELINOR LENNEN.

A Hymn to the Creator

Boethius. Book V—V

IN that eternal, all things
created seek the plainsong symmetry
of His enfolding. Such degree
of judgment as disoriented Saul, brings
on an almost-innocence—such
innocence Pilate prayed as much
to keep one good Friday; even now
sickles bloom on a golden plow
requisitioned from our Jacob kings,
and they are beaten to bomb coverings
and ammo belts, while all about us songs
rise up from partisans whose hilltops clash with gongs.

BRUCE CUTLER.

BOOKS

ALEXANDRINE CHRISTIANITY: CLEMENT AND ORIGEN. *Edited by John E. L. Oulton and Henry Chadwick. Vol. II of "Library of Christian Classics." Westminster, $5.00.* History does not tell us when or how Christianity came to Alexandria, the cultural metropolis of the East, but it came early. Basilides and Valentine were there in the second century, but both of these were tinged, to say the least, with Gnostic heresy. The great Alexandrines were Clement and Origen, selections from whose works with ample introductions and notes form the contents of this volume. At present no more can be said of it than to announce its publication for the benefit of scholarly readers who are watching eagerly for the successive volumes of this notable series. These two Fathers are not the less interesting because they have always been regarded as somewhat marginal to the main stream of orthodox theology. The Western church viewed them with such suspicion that Origen, in spite of his eminence as a thinker, was never dubbed a "saint," while Clement, though informally accorded that honor and assigned a day in the calendar, was later expunged from the official list by a papal Clement.

APPROACHES TO PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION: A BOOK OF READINGS. *Edited by Daniel J. Bronstein and Harold M. Schulweis. Prentice-Hall, $5.75.* This is one of those textbooks that are good reading for anyone who is interested in the subject and capable of thinking seriously about it. Readings drawn from varied sources, from Plato and Plotinus to Hocking and Kaplan, are classified under these topics: what is religion, the existence of God, God and evil, God and human freedom, church and state, and immortality. There is a copious bibliography for each section.

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES, TWENTIETH CENTURY. *By Reinhard H. Luthin. Beacon, $5.00.* One could read this with laughter or tears, or both. Laughter to see "what fools we mortals be" to let the transparent trickery of demagogues bamboozle us by dishonest appeals to our honest devotion to democracy; tears, not of clean pity and pathos, but of rage and shame at successful political malpractice that lacks the dignity of decent tragedy. Reading the saga of "Pa" and "Ma" Ferguson, one says, "That could happen only in Texas." Exactly that could perhaps happen only in Texas, but look what happened in Louisiana (Huey Long), in Mississippi (Bilbo), in Georgia (Gene Talmadge). So one says, "Well, it could happen only in the south." Oh yeah? Then look at Jersey City (Hague), or New York (Marcantonio), or Chicago (Big Bill Thompson), or Boston (Curley). Oklahoma is in the list too, with "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, but I feel that he is not quite in the same category. In spite of his blatant appeal to class prejudice when he was running for office and the delusion of a call to dictatorship when he got it, there was in him, unless I am mistaken, a broad streak of honest concern for the interests of the farmers and the poor—and most of the farmers were poor at the time and place of his liveliest activities. As to Wisconsin, naming no names I will simply quote a paragraph from Mr. Luthin's instructive and entertaining book: "The Senator from Wisconsin, posing as the protector of America's security from Communist infiltration and subversion, has encroached on the constitutional prerogatives of the executive branch, infringed the legal and moral rights of citizens, damaged morale in government departments, vilified innocent men and women, virulently attacked his critics in the press and radio, and played unsavory precinct-level politics with his country's foreign policy at one of the most critical periods of its history. . . . If the United States is to meet the challenge of sedition, disloyalty and espionage, reason must replace demagoguery."

THE CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS. *Edited by Walter M. Daniels. H. W. Wilson Co., $1.75.* "Reference Shelf" books usually present material on both sides of a moot question of public policy. In this case the difficulty is that practically nobody is an out-and-out advocate of censorship. The nearest approach is that of persons who, in this as in other matters, proclaim that they believe in liberty "but not in license"—which means that they believe in liberty if they are permitted to prescribe its limits. To say that censorship ought to be exercised against only those publications which "all right-thinking persons" agree should be banned is to say nothing of importance, because there is no unanimity among all the people who would be classed as "right-thinking" by any standard except an *ad hoc* criterion based on agreement about banning something that the critic wants banned. Nevertheless the problem exists and there are various opinions about it, many of which are collected and classified in this volume. The issue can't be quite dead, for 14 state legislatures considered censorship bills in 1953, though only Georgia enacted one into law. The contents of the volume are selected from many sources. They include an editorial and an article from The Christian Century. The consensus is that censorship by law is so liable to abuse that it generally does more harm than good, and that censorship by private pressure groups is invariably dangerous.

DANGER IN KASHMIR. *By Josef Korbel. Princeton University Press, $5.00.* It would be pleasant to think only of the fabled loveliness of the Vale of Kashmir and of long luxurious vacations on one of its famous houseboats. Unfortunately, sterner topics obtrude themselves. Kashmir has an unsatisfied yearning for independence which does not fit happily into Nehru's picture of a united India or Pakistan's plan to include it in her dominions. Further, it is on the Soviet frontier, not only exposed to infiltration and gradual communization, which has already gone far, but also affording a corridor for Soviet invasion of India. These things make it a danger spot. Nehru's policy toward Kashmir is vitiated, in the author's opinion, by his apparently unshakable conviction that Russia has no aggressive intent. Mr. Korbel was chairman of the commission sent to Kashmir in 1948. Admiral Nimitz contributes a judicious foreword to what he calls "this authoritative account."

CHRISTIANITY THROUGH THE CENTURIES. *By Earle E. Cairns. Zondervan, $5.95.* A rather simple, well arranged textbook in church history, apparently intended for the use of students with no previous knowledge of the subject. It is oriented toward a thoroughly conservative theological position. The section on the fundamentalist controversy concludes with a mention of Wheaton College (in which the author teaches) together with Calvin College as two which provide "higher education that is, at the same time, scholarly, evangelical, biblical and God-centered." The four principal "foes of the faith" (chap. 36) are criticism, commercialism, evolution and communism. The modern religious education movement "unfortunately . . . fell under liberal control."

THE DOUGLASS SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS, 1955. *By Earl L. Douglass. Macmillan, $2.95.* Dr. Douglass, as for many years past, provides a well balanced, practical, scholarly exposition of the International Sunday School Lessons. It requires some skill to make these expositions really undenominational and to avoid exploiting one type of evangelical theology at the expense of others. This is especially true of the 1955 lessons, for the first quarter is devoted to Christian doctrines, studied topically with appropriate basic Scriptures. No reasonable reader ought to be dissatisfied. Where diverse views are held (e.g., on baptism), each is fairly stated. In the other three quarters, attention is directed to the kingdom of Judah and its prophets, the exilic and post-exilic prophets, and Luke's Gospel.

THE MYSTERIOUS NUMBERS OF THE HEBREW KINGS, A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH. *By Edwin R. Thiele. University of Chicago Press, $6.00.* In the history of the divided kingdom in I and II Kings and II Chronicles, there is a regular recurrence of verses which profess to show not only the length of each reign but the exact chronological relation between the successive kings of the two lines. Verses like this: "Ahaziah the son of Ahab began to reign

over Israel in Samaria the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and reigned two years over Israel." The trouble is that when these comparative data and the figures about lengths of reigns are all put together they do not fit either with each other or with the known chronology of Assyrian and Babylonian history. Explanations of the discrepancy have hitherto been purely conjectural. For example, the notes of the Oxford "Teachers Bible" merely say that "the lists do not agree," and hazard the guess that perhaps there were some interregnums, or cases of cosovereignty when the same years might be credited to both of two kings. Prof. Thiele has discovered what he believes, on good evidence, to be the solution of this chronological enigma. The secret is the use of two different methods of counting the length of a king's reign, depending on whether or not the fraction of a year after his accession is reckoned as a full year or not at all. It seems to work out perfectly. The book gives full details. One interesting result is that the harmonization of the data pushes back the earliest clearly established date in Hebrew history by nearly a century. It has been held that the defeat of Ahab by Shalmaneser in 854 B.C. was the earliest accurately datable event. Prof. Thiele now says that the disruption of the Hebrew kingdom can be dated positively at 931 B.C. W. E. GARRISON.

CORRESPONDENCE

Presbyterian Dissent

SIR: I find myself quite out of agreement with your editorial, "A Council—of Churches!" (Nov. 24). Being a Presbyterian, I cannot follow you in your argument, though I can see that members of denominations without central control would feel just as you do.

STUART R. OGLESBY.
Central Presbyterian Church,
Atlanta, Ga.

A Suggestion

SIR: I would like to make a suggestion to the ecumenical fellowship, the use of which will clear our conversations a great deal. Why not use the word "communions" for aggregates of churches, reserving the word "church" for the Body of Christ in its oneness, and the word "churches" for local congregations? It would then be clearly seen that what we are dealing with in the ecumenical area is churches organized into communions which make up the Church.

It would not be any easy task to secure the adoption of this use of words. But why not try it? "First Church" on Main Street will always be "First Church." The Church of God, the Body of Christ, will always be the Church of God, the Body of Christ. In the middle, as it were, are the "communions," the aggregates of churches, which because of one reason or another have become cultural, national, confessional communions, out of faith-and-order fellowship with each other. What do the brethren think of this suggestion?

Danville, Ill. DANIEL L. ECKERT.

They Joined

SIR: Simeon Stylites, in his usual refreshing manner, seems suddenly to have discovered (Dec. 1) the "silent" Quaker meeting—by way of a broadcast on the B.B.C. He then proceeds to describe it as his "dream" program—no racket, no commercials, and so forth.

My wife and I also discovered in a roundabout way the peculiar spiritual refreshment offered by the Society of Friends—and then joined them! Of course it was hard going at first. No racket, no commercials, no "plug" for this, that and the other. The total lack of anything resembling "salesmanship" at a Quaker meeting is really appalling. If the Friends have anything to sell you don't know what it is—not at first, anyway.

In this era when everybody is pushing everybody else around, the silent meeting for worship seems, at first glance, to be just plain nuts! In fact, newcomers complain that they don't know what to do with the silence, that they fear a sort of craziness may come over them. And it is a frightening thing to look inward when you are entirely out of practice. One person told us that it felt like stepping into an open manhole.

But if that isn't exactly the first step in the Christian experience, then what is?

The showmanship and commercialism of the big, organized churches drove us to the Quaker meeting. It didn't drive many of us, however, for the Society of Friends in our area (New York city) has a microscopic membership—no cause for worry to the ministerial profession. "Oh happy day," says Simeon, "when we can tune in on a Quaker meeting, a sacrament of silence!" You can do better than that; you can go to a Friends meeting and see, taste and compare for yourself.

Brooklyn, N. Y. HOWARD HAYES.

China

SIR: Regarding *Fifty Years in China* by John Leighton Stuart, I want to add my wholehearted agreement with Paul Hutchinson (Dec. 1) that John Leighton Stuart was by no means a failure as U.S. ambassador in China.

I was in the Middle Kingdom, on the island of Kulangsu (Amoy, South Fukien), when Mr. Stuart and the whole American legation were ordered out of the country, leaving us Americans with no official representation whatsoever. To blame the failure of the Chiang regime and/or the failure of the Marshall mission on Mr. Stuart is preposterous and unrealistic thinking. The Chiang regime failed because it was unworthy of continuance. Every criticism that Mr. Stuart levels against it is true, and the worst condemnation is that Chiang and his Kuomintang cared nothing at all about the masses of people, attested by the fact that general political, social, industrial and agricultural reforms never got beyond the talking or "promising" stage.

As for the Marshall mission, it failed because it was too late; indeed, many years before Marshall set foot in China it was too late to save her, and the one means by which China could *not* be saved was by military action. Considering the past 100 years of China's history, one wonders just what it was from which she needed to be saved. It is as though we pushed a man from a rooftop, then ran down twenty flights of stairs in the hope of catching him before he hit the ground. The revolution in China was not initiated by the Communists; they merely fanned the smoldering fires of resentment that have been burning in the hearts of the Chinese people after more than a hundred years of being exploited and treated like something less than human. This is the crux of the matter, not only in China but in all Asia—the "little yellow so-and-sos" are beginning to feel their personal dignity and to assert their national pride. Arrogant Westerners have at last hanged themselves; military supplies and millions of dollars could not have saved them from that gibbet. The same must be said of Chiang and his Kuomintang.

As a companion reader to Leighton Stuart's book I would like to recommend *Two Kinds of Time* by Graham Peck (Houghton Mifflin, 1950); this book will supply much background information concerning conditions in China from 1935 to 1949.

However much we may deplore the Communist regime, Chairman Mao is looked upon with pride as one of "the people." And it must be admitted that many of the reforms that years ago were promised but never implemented are now being put into effect—e.g., the masses now have the opportunity to learn to read and write. I do not want to be misunderstood; if I were still in China I would likely be in prison. But my sympathy is with the people of China, whether they are reaping benefit or suffering in their present situation; at present, it would seem that both are true.

I am not a political analyst, but I can-

not subscribe to Mr. Stuart's opinion as to what we should do about the Chiang and Mao regimes. For one thing, Formosans do not consider themselves Chinese; therefore, the sum total of Nationalist China is Chiang and his armies. To defend Formosa for its own sake is one thing, but to defend it for the sake of Chiang and his armies, as though they were the "real" China, is unrealistic thinking.

I should like to venture an opinion and a prediction. To base our hope of a change in China on an invasion and counterrevolution under the leadership of Chiang is nothing less than wishful thinking, for the people of China do not want him—even as the lesser of two evils. Any such counterrevolution will have to be under a different leader; indeed, Chiang will not and cannot attempt such a thing without the aid of U.N. or U.S. troops. As for Formosa, leaving out the U.S. Seventh Fleet and giving Chiang no aid with non-Chinese troops, if the Communists launched a full-scale invasion, Chiang's armies would not fight longer than 24 hours. WILBUR R. BRANDLI.

Ypsilanti, Mich.

Working in the Dark

SIR: Your report on the action of the Indianapolis school board to teach "about" religion in eleven schools (Dec. 8) should move a number of different types of religio-educational organizations to do something for school boards in this complex and overlapping educational field. Of course, Indianapolis is only one situation and it happens to be a pretty large system. The dilemma confronting school boards in the 48 different state setups is both legal and spiritual. But the mechanics are woefully complex.

Here we have an official arm of the state legislature chosen from among uninformed people to establish policies in a field essentially strange to board members. These civic-minded servants do not sit up all night to study the vagaries of different wings of educational organizations. They assume that their professional colleagues are both informed and up-to-date in their thinking, which often is not the case. It is very easy for the school board to abdicate its responsibilities unintentionally because of lack of information.

In this situation, it may not be an extreme view to think that specialists in both secular and religious education should volunteer simple information which might be coordinated into understandable policy without boards being made "rubber stamps" of retarded professionalism. Yet broadly speaking, this information is not available to school board members. Notwithstanding the numerous conventions at which both religionists and educationists have discussed this great American spiritual problem, there are no statewide, regional or localized clearinghouses for information to reach school boards, administrators and incumbent faculties. In my personal contacts with hundreds of public school teachers, administrators, board members, association leaders, both lay and professional, and numerous of their editors, I constantly find confusion. At the same time at least a dozen nationwide movements are actively driving toward a common end.

To me it was obvious why the World Council of Churches in its Evanston assembly dodged the issue of making any recommendation on handling religion in the public schools. Yet the National Council of Churches is specifically handling this problem.

The state of Ilinois has long been a focal spot in this general situation because of the lawsuits centering here. Yet there is no tangible line of information emanating from the state department, the 102 county offices or the specialized associations and denominations calculated to clarify the problem as a problem.

HERBERT B. MULFORD.

Wilmette, Ill.

Is the Impossible Possible?

SIR: In the Indianapolis newsletter in your Dec. 8 issue I find: "A common agreement was reached as to the wisdom of preparing a series of courses emphasizing moral and spiritual values." Further on: "The children are not being indoctrinated or taught 'dogma,' but are being taught *about* religion."

It might be well to have some explanation as to just how children can be taught *about* religion without being taught something regarding its application to life. We read also that the courses are offered to children of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and nonreligious parentage. "Teachers report that no objection has come from either parents or children."

One wonders just how the impossible is possible.

Washington, Pa. WILLIAM BROWN.

Read Farrar

SIR: After finishing your editorial on the uproar in Norway concerning the doctrine of eternal punishment, I turned to my library and reread the exhaustive investigation of the subject by Canon F. W. Farrar. In my humble judgment you find in his two volumes *Eternal Hope* and *Mercy and Judgment* the best and most thoroughgoing treatment of the awful dogma in existence.

I would plead with every clergyman in the United States (if not all over the world) not to preach another sermon on hell until those two volumes have been read and earnestly studied. Chapter four of *Mercy and Judgment* deserves to be read on one's knees. Farrar understood better than 999 out of 1,000 preachers why the "popular" teaching of hell "saddens the life" and "makes men turn away from God in horror," as he put it.

Farrar was no Ingersoll. He engaged in a stiff debate with Ingersoll. He loved Christ and worshiped him as Lord and Savior—his *only* Lord. Again I suggest: fellow clergymen, buy or borrow those books and read them thoroughly before delivering another sermon on "eternal damnation." Let us all remember that "judgment is without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy: mercy glorieth (or triumphs) over judgment."

Portland, Ore. WILLIAM SCHOELER.

Guatemala

SIR: Carleton Beals' "Second Thoughts on Guatemala" (Dec. 8) is thought-provoking and should be distributed widely. Too few Americans realize the history of capitalistic exploitation of natural resources and cheap labor the world over.

Whenever something similar to the Spirit of '76 is found where men receive 10 or 15 cents a day, and economic dictatorship prevails on the local government, or the government of the investors, to quell any revolutionary trends, whether through action by the marines (see Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler's confession) or the Guatemalan "cleanup" job, the result is more communistic trends rather than less. How much better are fascists than communists?

"God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." The confused mess the world is in today is the result of man and Satan; until the people called Christian repent, pray and turn from following Mars and the devil, peace will remain around the corner.

Monmouth, Ill. O. L. WILLSON.

'Only When'

SIR: Your editorial "The Ultimate Test" (Dec. 8) is excellent, but for one major error. The key is the word "enforceable," in the phrase "universal enforceable disarmament." The presence of this word throws out the basic Christian concept, and reveals the hollowness of "this greatest yardstick of our progress along the road to peace and survival."

A nation with plenty, with rotting surpluses, cannot live without force in a world where half of humanity is hungry. Realizing that the hungry people are developing force which might destroy us, we call for disarmament. Realizing that we would then be overrun by the hungry people, we ask for *enforceable* disarmament. In other words, we ask the U.N. to take over the job of keeping the hungry people away from our hoard of rotting surpluses, and to guarantee our lives of television, 180-horsepower cars and more luxuries than the rest of the world put together.

No—armaments will wither away when, and only when, we have first banished selfishness and greed from the hearts of men. As the nation most favored with the ability to help our fellow man, we must lead the way. If our faith in that way is justified, fellow man will respond. If he does not, at least we will die Christians.

HAROLD S. FOSTER.

North Manchester, Ind.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Oklahomans Laud Court's Decision

Church Council Says Integration Ruling Gives Opportunity for Christians to Implement Beliefs

OKLAHOMA CITY, Dec. 13.—The Oklahoma City council of churches has set forth its views on the Supreme Court decision calling for racial integration in public schools in a letter addressed to the Christian people of the city and published in the council's news bulletin. It says: "The decision announces no new tenet of Christianity nor of democracy; it simply gives to those who believe in these principles . . . the opportunity to put them into practice more completely in our individual and corporate lives. . . . The Oklahoma City council of churches, in all its departments and activities from the beginning, has proved by experience that an inclusive Christian fellowship in our community is not only possible and practicable, but very rewarding and effective as well."

Suggest Ways of Helping Ease Transition

Acknowledging the need for improvement in this area in our churches and in our personal relationships, the council's message offers specific suggestions to meet that need. It reiterates the recommendation of the council's seminar on race relations last February that each church be encouraged to organize a race relations committee. Such a committee, it suggests, might function as a liaison between churches and other community agencies, and might undertake to sensitize church leaders to the problem, stimulate interest in interracial programs, obtain and distribute literature, prepare congregations for the presence and participation of people of other races in church and community affairs, promote harmony in order to ease the transition to new patterns, plan an educational program in the churches, and use all possible methods to teach better personal relationships and show people how to deal with prejudice. The council has available at its office materials giving more details of the proposed plan, together with study materials and bibliography.

Laud Action of Supreme Court Judges

The council urges citizens to study carefully the text of the Supreme Court decision. "Some of the statements in it will make you proud to be an American, and give you hope for this nation's future place of leadership in the world," it says. "The church needs to help people be prepared to give a positive answer to questions or statements based on propaganda born of ancient prejudices. . . . Let us be guided by the life and teachings of Jesus, rather than by the customs and practices of society. We must express our gratitude to be living in a day and in a nation where the highest judicial body can rise so nobly to so great a challenge, when the members of our Supreme Court recognize the importance of the effect of law on human personality."

Tulsa Radio, TV Stations Promote Religion

In cooperation with the Tulsa council of churches, radio and television stations in that city are opening the doors of the church to thousands of unseen worshipers. Few cities of similar size devote as much time to religious services through radio and TV. The Tulsa council sponsored a conference Sept. 13 on the church and world order. Speakers were Congressman Page Belcher, Sen. Robert S. Kerr and this correspondent. E. Stanley Jones addressed the council's annual meeting Dec. 7.

Fry Addresses Fourth Annual Reformation Festival

Pres. Franklin Clark Fry of the United Lutheran Church was the speaker at Oklahoma City's annual Reformation festival held in the municipal auditorium Oct. 31. The festival has come to be one of the most colorful events in the calendar of the city's Protestantism. This year's service featured a procession of local ministers and the combined choirs of participating churches. In a new plan for assuring financing of the project, attendance quotas were set for churches, with tickets available to each person who had contributed 50 cents or more.

Laubach Addresses Churchwomen

World Community Day was observed Nov. 5 in Tulsa and Oklahoma City under sponsorship of United Church Women. In this city the spiritual life commission joined in sponsoring the observance, which featured an address by Frank Laubach on "Lift the World or Lose It." "Parcels for Peace"—offerings in clothing and cash for overseas relief—were presented by the churchwomen. They will be distributed by Church World Service.

And So Forth

A dedication service was held Oct. 21 for the prayer chapel and family room furnished at the University of Oklahoma hospital here by the Oklahoma City council of churches and United Church Women. The chapel is a memorial to George W. Wade, prominent layman and treasurer of the local council, who died early this fall.

"Today's Family—Its Needs and Opportunities" was the theme of the workshop in which a number of local ministers and social workers participated here Nov. 15-17. The workshop, divided into 11 sections, was conducted by Richard E. Lentz, director of the department of family life of the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Education.

For the fourth year, institutes on human relations were held this fall in Tulsa (Oct. 26) and Oklahoma City (Oct. 28). They were sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the local councils of churches and United Church Women.

In a Halloween project sponsored by the Oklahoma City council of churches, children collected pennies to be used to buy food for hungry children, rather than handouts for themselves.

J. CLYDE WHEELER.

Third of Graham Converts Remain

Survey by London Newspaper Reveals 35 of 100 who 'Went Forward' Are Still with Churches

LONDON, Dec. 9.—In an effort to assess the effects of Billy Graham's evangelistic crusade in London last spring, the London *Evening Standard* recently consulted 20 vicars who had been notified by the Graham organization of 336 people in their parishes who had "come forward" at the meetings in Harringay arena. Then it published an analysis of this sample. Of the group, 226 were "old churchgoers." Of the 110 who represented genuine conversions, 35 are still going to the church of their choice; what happened to the others is not known. Projecting this sample to the 36,000 conversions claimed at Harringay, the *Standard* estimates that 24,000 were already "old faithfuls" and that of the remaining 12,000 fewer than 4,000 are still with the churches. It concludes that on the basis of these figures "the enduring effect of Billy Graham's campaign on church attendances in London today is unimpressive."

Bishop of Durham Lists Evanston's Faults

Bishop Ramsey of Durham makes three criticisms of the Evanston assembly in his diocesan publication, the *Bishopric*: "(1) It was too large. It might have been possible for the 500 delegates to have good discussions in a hall by themselves, but they sat in a place vast enough to house a fleet of zeppelins, with crowds of the hangers-on of the conference and the general public. I have rarely known such stultifying of the personal touch between speaker and audience. (2) The conference was accompanied from first to last by the sort of publicity which can only be called vulgar boasting. This is not the atmosphere in which spiritual results are most likely to ensue. (3) The program was overloaded. . . . Great matters of religion need thought, and thought requires spaces of quiet and leisure. The profoundest matters of theology cannot be illuminated by high-pressure drafting." Dr. Ramsey thinks the weakness of the conference may have struck a salutary blow at the tendency to claim far too much for what great congresses can achieve, and at the naive "conference mentality" which he sees as a growing evil in the church.

L.M.S. in South Africa To Lease Buildings

The oldest of the British missionary organizations working in the Union of South Africa, the London Missionary Society, has decided to enter into negotiations with a view to the possible leasing to the government of its $375,000 buildings at the Tiger Kloof Institution. While the society feels that it can no longer cooperate with the South African government, it does not wish to deny it the use of the buildings in its new plans for Bantu education. For 50

years this L.M.S. institution near Vryburg, on the main railway line from Cape Town to the north, has played a notable part in Bantu education. At present, under the principalship of Rev. Aubrey Lewis, it has an interracial staff of 30. Students come from many parts of the union for elementary and secondary technical training and for teacher education. The government contributes thousands of dollars annually toward support of these courses. Meanwhile, the Society for Propagation of the Faith (Anglican) has refused to lease its premises to the government and has launched a campaign to raise funds to run independent schools for the Bantu people. [See adjoining column.]

Lack Facilities for African Ministerial Training

The International Missionary Council has just issued a report compiled by Norman Goodall and Erik Neilsen after their recent survey of training facilities for the native African ministry. It reveals that there are 125 students in such training in South Africa, only 45 in the whole of central Africa. The investigators describe the situation as "almost desperate." A chief reason for the inadequate supply of men for the ordained ministry is the low standard of payment. In South Africa the average native minister's annual salary is between $150 and $225, with free manse and, sometimes, children's allowances. This compares with the $387 a year paid lower primary teachers. The report says that the strength of the church is to be found in the rural areas and that it is weakest in such areas as the Rand and the Copperbelt.

Soper Reports on Visit To Soviet Union

Donald Soper, formerly president of the British Methodist Conference, has been reporting on the recent fortnight's visit he made to the Soviet Union in the company of Canon C. E. Raven (Anglican) and Ebenezer Cunningham (Congregationalist). He believes that the drive and enthusiasm of the Russian people for a better ordered society has much in it that resembles Christian dedication. He says that the people enjoy freedoms other than political. He was impressed by their control and discipline, particularly in the use of alcohol. Dr. Soper's request to be permitted to speak in Red Square as he does in London's Hyde Park and Tower Hill was refused on the ground that such things are not done and that in any case it was "too cold."

And So Forth

In Kenya a new Quaker settlement is being established at Nairobi, and American Friends are cooperating in the opening of a hospital for tuberculars at Kaimosi.

Gen. Kitching, international leader of the Salvation Army, returned from his recent visit to the United States impressed by the "virility" of religious life there. He said the Army's social work in the U.S. is on a scale unequaled in any other part of the world. Its biggest problem there, which Gen. Kitching noted is shared by other denominations, is the lack of young people willing to consider the ministry or Salvation Army work as a life vocation.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

Decide Future of Native Schooling

South Africa's Churches in Process of Determining Course as Government Implements Education Act

HEALDTOWN, C. P., SOUTH AFRICA, Nov. 8.—Decisions of South Africa's churches regarding the future of their educational work among the African people are being revealed as one annual assembly after another gives attention to this important problem. In implementing the Native Education act passed last year, the government is planning to take over all teacher training. The churches may hand over control of their teacher-training colleges, or close them. In regard to other schools operated by the churches, the government has offered three choices: the churches may continue to retain control over them on reduced subsidies, hand over control to the government, or close them.

Roman Catholics to Continue Schools

The Roman Catholic Church has announced after consultation with government officials that it will retain its school buildings, launch a campaign to provide whatever education it can for its children in its own schools, and make its premises available to the government for teacher-training institutions provided it can retain a satisfactory measure of control in the academic and hostel departments. Says this church's statement: "In virtue of our conviction that parents have a right to share in the benefits of public revenue so as to provide school facilities for their children and payment of teachers, we apply for subsidies in terms of the act."

Some Anglican Orders Will Close Theirs

The decision of the Anglican Church, whose bishops are to meet shortly, is anxiously awaited. Meanwhile, certain Anglican priestly orders engaged in educational work among the African people have made the drastic decision to close their institutions. An indication of what lay back of their decision is given in this statement issued by Richard Roseveare, provincial of the Society of the Sacred Mission: "If the minister [of education] cannot entrust the training of African teachers to Christian missions, we as a Christian mission cannot and will not entrust our lands or our buildings to him or to his department for educational purposes, for we are convinced that the true welfare of the African people is being denied by virtue of a political theory and educational principles which we affirm to be contrary to the will of God. . . . We shall continue our mission work in some other field, as we hope, to the glory of God and to the true welfare of the African people."

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists Announce Policies

The Presbyterian and Congregational churches will hand their schools over to the government, particularly in regard to finances, but will lease, not sell, the buildings. These churches have publicly deplored the government's new plan for African education and have "solemnly declared" that the full responsibility for the implementing of this policy and its consequences rests on the government. The Methodist Church, largest of all South Africa's missionary communions, announced its policy at its recently concluded annual conference. While it is opposed to the introduction of the government's new scheme for Bantu education, it declares that it cannot desert the African people by withdrawing from the educational field. It announces its intention to play as large a part as it possibly can in African education, and to bring all its influence to bear to insure that the education available to the African shall be of the same standard and scope as hitherto.

Methodists See Attempt to Condition Natives for Subordinate Status

In a public statement which had been eagerly awaited by all churches in the union, the Methodists said: "A policy which in effect aims at conditioning the African people to a predetermined position of subordination in the state is incompatible with the Christian principles for which the church stands. Nevertheless, in order to provide for the immediate educational needs of the African people, the church feels compelled to relinquish control of its schools to the state and to continue to exercise a Christian influence upon education wherever possible. Since the regulations and syllabuses have not yet been published, the church must safeguard itself by limiting its agreements with the state to an experimental period." During its sessions the Methodist Conference stated that it "views with grave anxiety" the dangerous racial situation that has arisen as the result of recent legislative enactments. The policy of *apartheid,* it said, is essentially a policy of race discrimination, and as such is in conflict with Christian principles; and in ignoring those principles the state is facilitating the acceptance of communist doctrine by the underprivileged. It called on all who exercise high administrative office to temper their administration with sympathy and justice.

Warn of Dangers in Restriction Of Mission Sites

The latest government measure to cause widespread concern was the circular issued by the native affairs department stating that leases of sites to churches in native urban locations may be canceled if any representative of those churches does anything to "encourage deterioration of the relationships" between the natives and the government. Acquisition of sites must be approved by the minister of native affairs, and agreements can be only on a one-year basis. The *Cape Times* terms this new order a "preposterous advance of bureaucracy" which in effect establishes censorship over any sermon that may be delivered from the pulpit, any general decision that may be taken by ruling conferences or congresses of the church. The *South African Outlook* notes that under the restriction no preacher, clerical or lay, will enjoy freedom of speech, even while out of the pulpit, for anything he might say anywhere might be interpreted as "tending to lead to or encourage deterioration of relationships between natives and government." Further,

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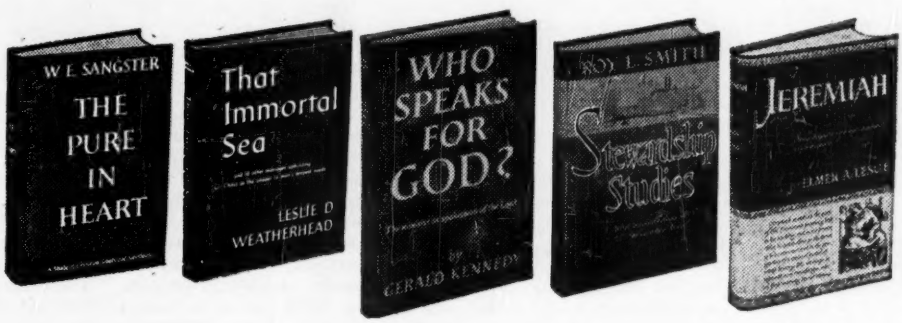

asks the *Outlook*, what inducement is there for a congregation to put up a worthy building for worship if its tenure is to be only on an annual basis, and at the mercy of frail human judgment or passion, without the protection of law?

Jury Decision Rouses Queries On Jury System

Thinking South Africans were shocked beyond words when a jury in the Transvaal brought in a verdict of "guilty of common assault" in the case of a European father and son charged with the murder of a native convict laborer on their farm. The father was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, the son to six. The laborer had been put out to work on their farm under terms of the farm-jail system. The possibilities of abuse in this system are immense; it is hoped that the criticism the verdict has aroused will lead to moderation of it. The *Cape Times* concluded that the jury's finding was a consequence of its members' "cultural environment." It suggested that, "in the interest of the civilized administration of justice," the government review the validity of the jury system in cases of violence involving members of different races.

And So Forth

In December, Witwatersrand University of Johannesburg is to be host to the second conference of leaders of all Christian churches in South Africa. Nonwhites are to be represented. The conference is called by the Dutch Reformed Church. [See p. 1592.]

At the first All Southern Africa convention of the Disciples of Christ, held recently in Johannesburg, R. S. Garfield Todd was elected first president of the group. For 20 years superintendent of the Disciples' Dadaya mission near Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, Todd is now prime minister of Southern Rhodesia.

One of the houses recently searched by police was that of D. C. Thompson, Methodist minister at Springs, Transvaal. Thompson is president of the South African Peace Council and of the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union.

STANLEY G. PITTS.

Churches to Support Centers For G.I.'s Abroad

The National Council of Churches and the General Commission on Chaplains are to undertake a campaign to raise funds for establishing off-base recreational centers for American troops stationed in Japan, Okinawa and Korea. The centers will be part of a wider effort to promote a wholesome environment for the troops, and to combat a vice-ridden situation that is impairing Japanese-American relations.

German Church Agency Provides Housing

During its first five years of existence, the Protestant agency for developing housing in Bavaria has built 1,700 units housing 7,000 persons and valued at about $5 million, the news bulletin of the Evangelical Church in Germany reports. Seventy per cent of the residents are refugees, expellees or people who lost their homes in World War II bombing raids. The agency has received some financial support from the Lutheran World Federation.

Chileans Resent Argentine Slurs

Imported School Texts and Maps Twist History and Geography to Favor Neighboring Republic

SANTIAGO, CHILE, Dec. 1.—The national ministry of education has issued a lengthy statement denouncing what it calls "systematic propaganda" directed to this country, particularly to its students, from the Argentine republic. It cites the introduction here of dictionaries, pamphlets, maps and textbooks which twist Chilean history and geography. For instance, the maps show as Argentinian many islands and towns actually in southern Chile. One atlas, printed in Argentina and titled *My Native Land*, shows most of the Chilean Antarctic region as belonging to Argentina. A portion of the text of the atlas says that "our"—i.e., Chile's—independence was secured by Argentinians with the "cooperation" of a small number of Chileans. As a result of the ministry's protest, our government has forbidden use of these materials in the schools.

Argentine Press Attacks Moves Of Chilean Catholic Unions

Our newspapers have been giving much publicity to the accusations by Peronist dailies in Buenos Aires to the effect that ASICH (the Chilean trade union association organized and controlled by the Roman Catholic Church) is operating secretly in Argentina's confederation of workers in an effort to sow confusion and create a spirit of revolt among Peronist laborers. The Buenos Aires newspapers even charge that the Catholic unions openly support Communist agitators in both Chile and Argentina. They say that ASICH defended the five Chilean union organizers who were stopped by Argentine authorities while on their way to Buenos Aires and imprisoned. Spokesmen for ASICH retort that the five men were not Communists, but good militant Roman Catholics. They include in that category Clotario Blest, president of the secular Confederation of Workers of Chile, in spite of the fact that he is generally conceded to be a fellow traveler, having gone to Russia in 1952 on the invitation of the Kremlin. Pres. Perón himself has come out openly in an attack on the "many Argentinian priests, and others of foreign countries, who play politics and rouse up Argentinian workers against their political leaders."

Consider Purchase of U.S. Surpluses

Conversations regarding American agricultural surpluses are going on between representatives of the Chilean and U.S. governments. Our per capita production of wheat and dairy products has been declining over the past five years. The government would like to import some low-cost U.S. surplus grain and dairy products, but it runs up against the opposition of Chilean farmers. One plan calls for Chile to buy a limited amount of surplus U.S. wheat, paying for it in pesos which would then be placed in a special fund to be used exclusively for expanding Point Four agricultural work in this country. Thus the more surplus U.S. foods we import, the more funds we would have to help correct our own crop deficiencies.

Home-Refined Gasoline Goes on Sale

On Nov. 26 the first output of gasoline produced at the national refinery at Concon in central Chile was turned over to the petroleum marketing concerns for sale to the general public. It is estimated that next year 35 per cent of the gasoline, kerosene and diesel motor oil used in this country will come from the national refinery, and that within five years it will be able to supply all our own needs. It was only 15 years ago that the oil wells in Magallanes, Chile's southernmost province, started to yield their treasure of black gold. The industrial and mining enterprises now supplying so much of our needs were initiated by Pres. Pedro Aguirre in 1938 and carried forward by his Center party successors. That party, however, is severely criticized on every possible occasion by our current president, Carlos Ibáñez.

Presbyterians in Chile On Their Own

In a recent statement published in the official paper of the Presbyterian Church in Chile, the moderator of that church announced that after 80 years of management by the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of Missions, the Chilean presbytery has assumed full responsibility for its own affairs. "Many think the native church is not ready for this step, and that it has been hastily taken," says the moderator. "However, the truth is that for many years the board, through visiting secretaries, has manifested its great concern that so little progress is being made [here], and has surmised that such slowness can be attributed to the native church's dependence on the mother church in the United States. The future will give the answer. Meanwhile, we must redouble our efforts."

And So Forth

September was an extraordinary month for the Chilean Bible Society; it sold 6,500 Bibles and 3,000 New Testaments and Scripture portions. There is considerable demand for the New Testament in Spanish Braille, now available in a 10-volume set. The society also reports increased donations from the Chilean churches. Many local churches have become thriving centers for the distribution of Bibles and tracts.

A prominent lawyer in the office of the Roman Catholic archiepiscopal see of Santiago was recently sentenced to prison for embezzling 10 million pesos (about $30,000) from alms and collections intended for the archbishopric's treasury.

The Chilean administration is backing a plan suggested by our minister of finance, calling for organization of an international bank to cater exclusively to the needs of this continent. Latin American governments would withdraw the $3.5 billion they have deposited in U.S. banks and launch a "bank within the continent, for the continent." The plan is the brainchild of Pres. Arturo Maschke of the Central Bank of Chile. Our government hopes it will be approved at the conference of finance ministers now being held in Rio de Janeiro.

PEDRO ZOTTELE.

Barry Heads City Mission Society

N.C.C. Research Director Follows Miller as President of New York Agency—Honor Wise on Anniversary

NEW YORK, Dec. 15.—A change in Protestant leadership in New York city occurs Jan. 1, when David W. Barry, director of the National Council of Churches' central department of research and survey, succeeds Kenneth D. Miller, who is retiring as president of the New York city missionary society. During Dr. Miller's 15 years as head of the society, such interdenominational projects as the East Harlem Protestant Parish and the Church of the Open Door in the Navy Yard district of Brooklyn have been established and firmly rooted. Mr. Barry, a Presbyterian minister, was at one time on the staff of the society; he organized its "pathfinder" research service and helped found the East Harlem parish. He is an expert on the inner city, its problems and its churches. He advocates a realistic appraisal of Protestant strength vis-à-vis other religious groups in New York, and close cooperation among denominations in planning and carrying on inner city missionary work.

Honor Rabbi Wise on Anniversary

Religious and civic leaders of all faiths—plus thousands of plain citizens—have been paying honor to Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, who will celebrate his 50th anniversary in the rabbinate Dec. 19. Dr. Wise, son of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, founder of American Reform Judaism and of Hebrew Union College, has headed Central Synagogue in New York since 1925. His ministry in this city has been noteworthy especially for his philanthropic work as head of the United Jewish Appeal and for his constant efforts to foster interfaith cooperation. Writing in the *New York Times Magazine* on the occasion of his anniversary, Rabbi Wise said: "The years I look back upon are, many of them, years of crisis. Yet out of the crisis has come greater faith. . . . The evidence of religious resurgence and a deeper understanding of religion today goes far beyond statistics of attendance at houses of worship. The new relations among the sects are significant. . . . The sects do not cross the lines of doctrine or dogma, but they are willing more and more to realize the fundamental fact that all humanity is their field of responsibility, action and teaching."

Are Religious Groups Involved In McCarthy Controversy?

Abatement of the furor over censure of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy gives a breathing space for sober consideration of the part some religious groups may be playing in the political movement labeled mccarthyism. This city is the place where a religious issue was made most explicit in the McCarthy controversy. It was here that, as an official representative of Cardinal Spellman, Msgr. Edward R. Martin, retired chief chaplain of the First army, told a communion breakfast of 700 Roman Catholic

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Wondering what to do with that Christmas check? Harper & Brothers suggest that you use it for good books. Listed below are some you may wish to consider.

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war veterans that he knew "personally" that over $5 million had been raised to kick McCarthy out of the Senate because of his "Catholic ideals." (See The Christian Century for Nov. 24, p. 1420.) The senator himself discounted the statement. "There is a vast amount of money [being raised] to hamper [my work], but I don't think that religion enters into it," he said. Cardinal Spellman could not be reached by the newspapers for comment. He has consistently avoided direct mention of the Wisconsin senator, but earlier this year in Brussels he rebuked European critics of Mr. McCarthy. Although a number of McCarthy foes have demanded proof of Msgr. Martin's charge, none has been forthcoming.

Petition Campaign Gains Clerical Supporters

The religious issue was again raised here in the campaign for signatures on pro-McCarthy petitions during the Senate censure fight. Opponents of McCarthy, and some newspapers, reported that Roman Catholic parochial schools were being used as centers for distribution and collection of petitions. But no Catholic cleric of importance publicly endorsed the petition campaign. The Roman Catholic diocese of New York was not represented at the Madison Square Garden rally staged by the pro-McCarthy petition committee. [See article on p. 1580.] Some Protestant and Jewish clergymen, however, did participate—J. Oliver Buswell representing the American Council of Christian Churches, Rabbi Benjamin Schultz of New York, and Rabbi Max Merritt of Los Angeles, who pronounced the benediction.

Congregational Christian Council Clarifies Merger Plans

On Dec. 10 the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches sponsored the first of a series of regional meetings to clarify plans for union with the Evangelical and Reformed Church. State superintendents from the eastern seaboard heard Douglas Horton, minister of the General Council, explain the recent action of the executive committee for consummation of the union in 1957. Jerry Trexler, chairman of an information committee on the matter, outlined plans for informing local churches about the union and for fostering cooperative work among groups in the two communions. Similar meetings are being held in Chicago, Omaha and San Francisco.

Eliot Decries Exclusion Of Unitarians

In an address recently given at the Unitarian Church of All Souls here, Frederick May Eliot of Boston, president of the American Unitarian Association, decried the exclusion of his denomination from the National Council of Churches. "[The] strong movement within Christendom toward more effective organization of the forces of religion . . . results in tightening the lines of demarcation and the relatively few Christian groups that cannot accept the dogmatic basis are sharply differentiated from the majority that can," he said. "This seems to me regrettable, not only for those who are excluded but also for the much stronger and larger group . . . that are included. So long as any body of sincerely religious men who acknowledge their discipleship to Jesus are shut out, we have not attained the whole church of Christ."

And So Forth

On Dec. 12 a service of dedication for the new Albert Schweitzer hospital in Deschappelles, Haiti, was held in Park Avenue Christian Church, of which the hospital's sponsor, Dr. William Larimer Mellon, Jr., is a member. [See editorial in this issue.]

During his lectures at Columbia University, Historian Arnold J. Toynbee announced that the title of his next book will be *What Religion Looks Like from the Historian's Point of View*. Toynbee has chosen to study religion because he is convinced that the world needs a spiritual awakening. He believes that the current growth in religious activity in the United States will prove healthy for the world as a whole.

The Mormon congregation at Uniondale, L. I., has dedicated its chapel, begun in 1949 and built by members of the congregation, who total 300. Elder Henry D. Moyle of the Council of Twelve Apostles in Salt Lake City officiated at the dedication ceremony. EVERETT C. PARKER.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ADDITION

After checking with World Council headquarters, The Christian Century discovers that its list of members of the World Council's Central Committee as named at the Evanston assembly (see The Christian Century for Sept. 22, p. 1166) is correct except for one omission. To the list as given in that issue one name should be added—Ansgar Eeg-Oloffson, a member of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden.

Discuss 'Apartheid'

South Africa Conference Has Delegates from All Protestant Churches

Samuel McCrea Cavert, executive secretary of the World Council of Churches in its New York office, went to South Africa early in December to address the interracial conference of church leaders held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Dec. 7-10.

On his return, according to Religious News Service, Dr. Cavert reported that the conference broke new ground in both race relations and church cooperation for the first time since racial and national tensions became acute in the union. All churches in South Africa except the Roman Catholic were represented. Of the 200 delegates, 60 were natives. English- and Afrikaans-speaking representatives did not hesitate to express opposing views on the controversial political issue of *apartheid*. Native African pastors were equally candid in calling on white churches to help them secure justice in such matters as employment and land tenure.

For Continuing Consultation

Theme of the conference was the extension of the Kingdom of God in the multiracial union. Dr. Cavert reported that the most unifying element in the discussion was concern for more effective missionary work among the Bantus, of whom about half are still pagan. Main result of the deliberations was the unanimous decision to create a continuation committee as a permanent agency of consultation and cooperation in such matters as the participating churches may agree on. Hitherto, no such channel has existed. The committee was instructed to arrange a similar conference at least once every three years. It was given authority to convene consultations on specific matters, to explore the development of interchurch study groups, and to study the advisability of interdenominational pastoral training for Bantus.

On the question of the new Bantu Education act, on which the churches hold divergent views, no action was taken except to record the judgment that the transfer of Bantu education to the state places great responsibility on churches to be more effective in their own work among children and youth. (See p. 1588.)

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the conference had as cochairmen Moderator C. B. Brink of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal and Anglican Archbishop Geoffrey H. Clayton of Capetown.

Presbyterians Adopt Missions Budget

At a recent two-day meeting, the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of Foreign Missions adopted a 1955 budget of $6,362,468, covering work in 34 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, as well as a number of projects in interchurch service.

Theological Students Aided By World Council

This year 119 theological students are enrolled in institutions in countries other than their own, recipients of scholarships granted annually by the World Council of Churches' division of interchurch aid and service to refugees. They represent 22 churches and 27 countries.

Churches in Tunisia Urge End to Violence

Leaders of Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed churches in Tunisia recently joined in issuing a message calling for an end of violence in that country and of "reprisals and crimes against innocent people."

The Church Roll

V. E. Devadutt, president of the Baptist Union of Pakistan, India, Burma and Ceylon, remained in the U.S. after the Evanston assembly to serve as visiting professor for the current academic year at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

Frank C. Laubach and his literacy team started their 1954-55 program Dec. 5 in Pakistan. After eight weeks there, they will go to the southern Sudan, then across south Asia to Netherlands New Guinea, concluding with a month's work in Korea. On the team are Dr. and Mrs. Laubach, Phil Gray (artist), Richard Cortright (linguist), Mrs. Richard Cortright (secretary) and Mrs. Baity, a writer associated with the World Health Organization.

Makary El Souriany of Cairo, Egypt, is enrolled this year at Princeton Theological School and Princeton University—the first Coptic monk ever to study in the western hemisphere. His study is sponsored by the National Council of Churches' joint committee for the Near East.

Curtis R. Nims, for the past seven years pastor of First Baptist Church of Stockton, Calif., has been appointed the official evangelist for the American Baptist Convention. Nims, who was director of the San Francisco Bay Cities Baptist Union's ministry to servicemen 1943-47, will conduct evangelistic meetings throughout the convention. He succeeds John A. Lavender, who resigned to become pastor of Morgan Park Baptist Church in Chicago.

William Y. Bell, program consultant on the National Social Welfare Assembly's international exchange project, has been appointed director of adult education and social relations for the Council of Liberal Churches (Universalist-Unitarian). He is the first Negro to be named to an executive position in either of these denominations. The department he heads is the second to be merged since the council was incorporated in October 1953. Education was first, with Ernest W. Kuebler as director.

George A. Heimrich, Augustana Lutheran layman of Los Angeles, has been named director of the west coast office of the National Council of Churches' broadcasting and film commission.

Recent deaths in the field of religion: L. M. Birkhead, pastor of All Souls (Unitarian) Church, Kansas City, Mo., 1917-49, organizer and director of the Friends of Democracy, which from 1939 to 1952 was devoted to unmasking activities of political extremists of both the right and left, on Dec. 1, in New York city, at the age of 69. . . . George F. Sutherland, Methodist minister who was connected in various capacities with the administration of his church's missionary activities 1903-46, for many years treasurer of the Board of Missions, on Dec. 5, at the age of 78. Dr. Sutherland had also served as president and treasurer of the Missionary Education Movement. . . . Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr., since 1948 president of the American University of Beirut (Lebanon), on Dec. 9, at the age of 46. . . . Walter R. Alexander, executive secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention's Relief and Annuity Board, on Dec. 13, at the age of 63. . . . Edward H. Roberts, dean of Princeton Theological Seminary since 1945 and a member of the seminary faculty since 1930, on Dec. 13, at the age of 59. . . . Laura Wyman Henderson, Presbyterian, U.S.A., missionary who for over 30 years had been director of a Christian hostel for girls attending government colleges in Santiago, Chile, wife of Samuel C. Henderson of the American Presbyterian Mission in Santiago, in an automobile accident, Dec. 11. . . . Robert Kelly, Congregational minister, president of Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., 1902-17, former president and executive secretary of the Association of American Colleges 1918-37, in Claremont, Calif., on Dec. 12, at the age of 89. . . . Albert W. Palmer, president emeritus of Chicago Theological Seminary, Congregational minister, moderator of the Congregational Christian Churches 1946-48, in Altadena, Calif., on Dec. 16, at the age of 75. On the Sunday before his sudden death, Dr. Palmer had observed the 50th anniversary of his ordination at the First Congregational Church in Redlands, where he was ordained.

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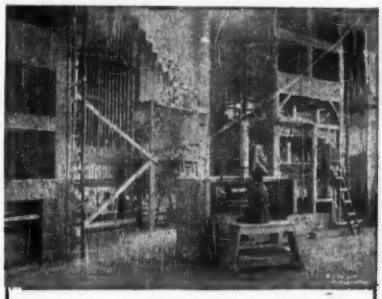

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